

JANUARY

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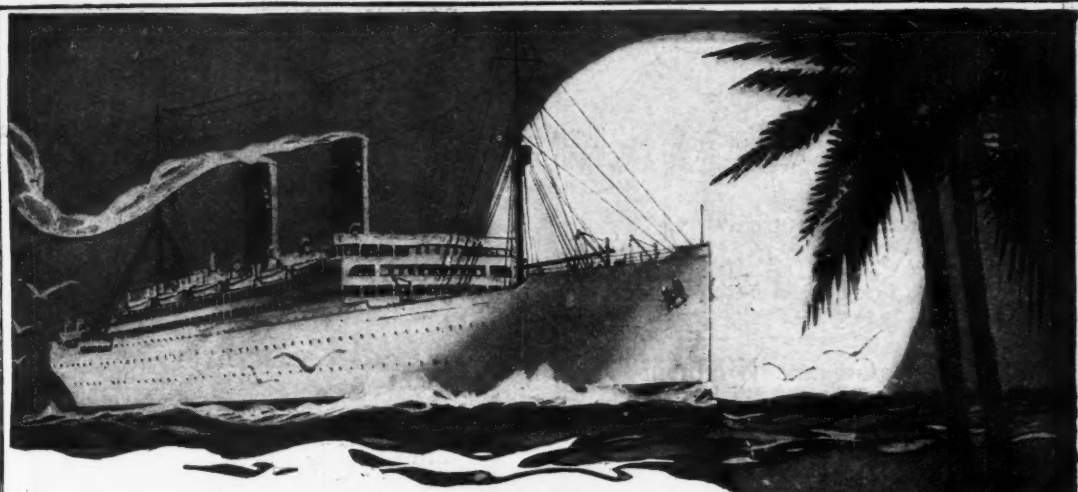
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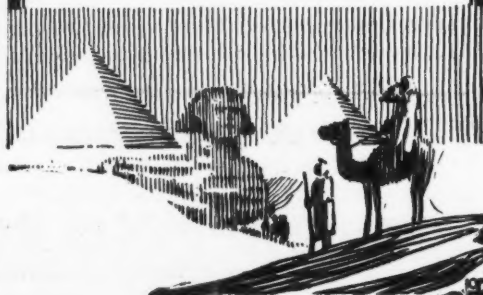
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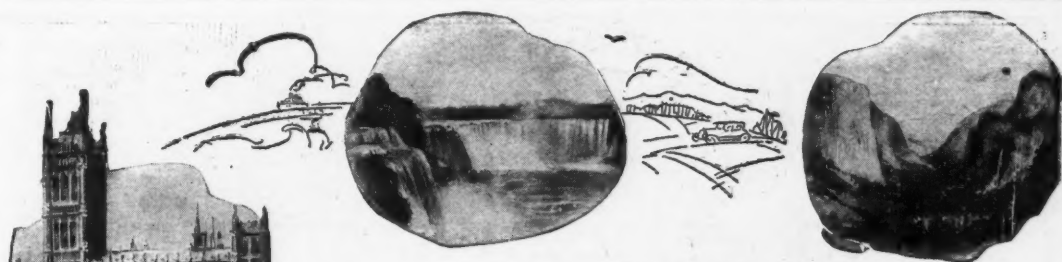
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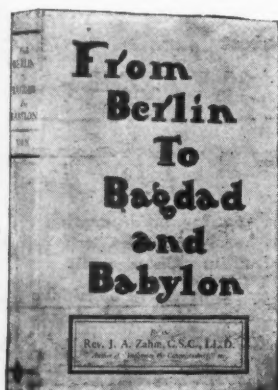
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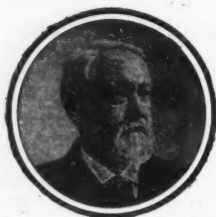
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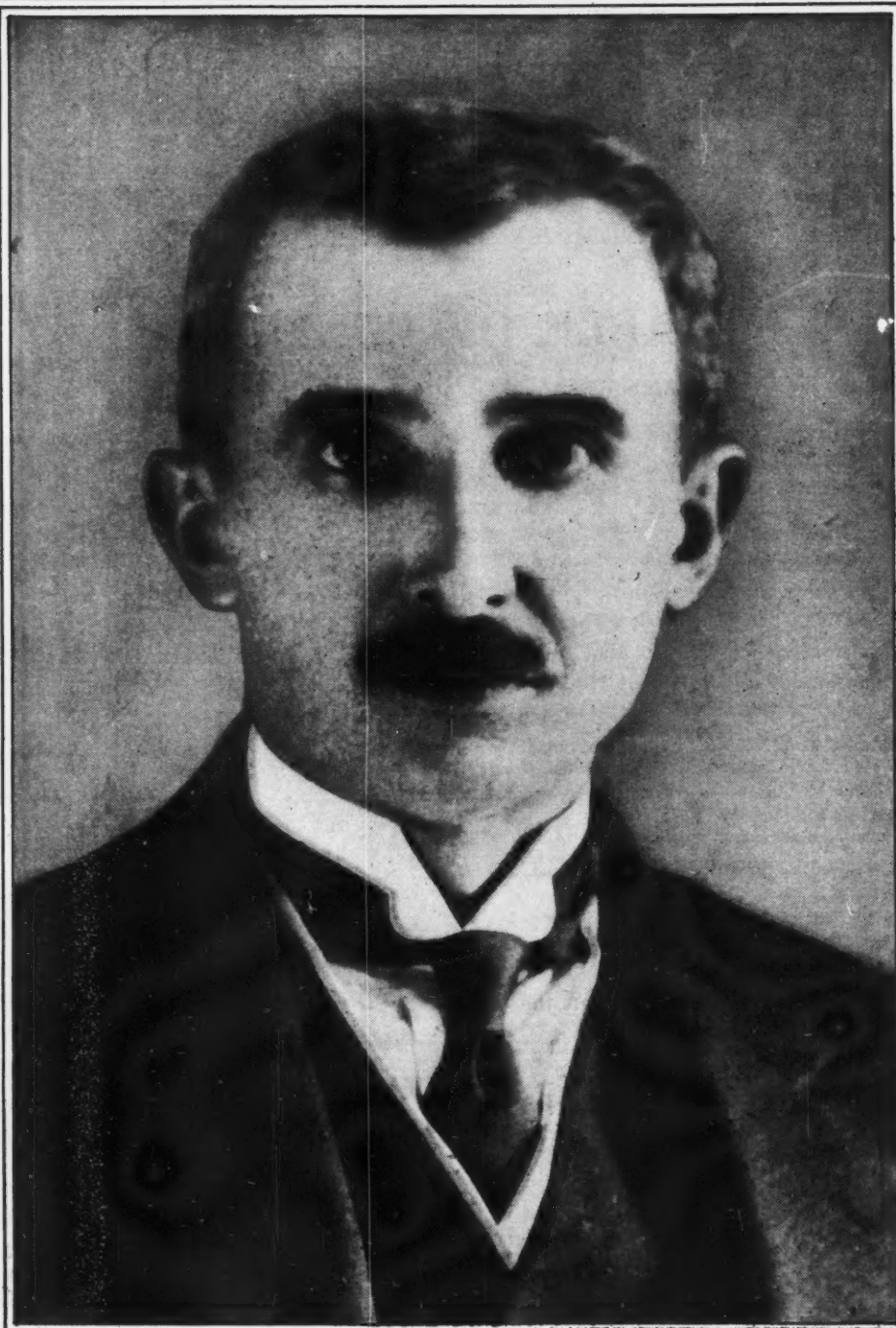
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(Gilliams)

ISMET PASHA

Turkish Nationalist General who defeated the Greeks and who, after negotiating the Mudania armistice with the Allies, was appointed head of the Turkish delegation at the Lausanne Conference

THE LAUSANNE CONFERENCE

[PERIOD ENDED DEC. 10, 1922]

Allies, Greeks, Turks and Russians face to face in Switzerland—Momentous conference to effect peace in the Near East endures through deadlocks and crises—Dramatic part played by the American observer—Straits status almost wrecks the conference

THE conference at Lausanne, Switzerland, called to effect a settlement between the allied nations—Great Britain, France, Italy, also Greece, on the one side, and the new Turkish Nationalist Government on the other—and to establish peace in the Near East, was opened on Nov. 20, and was still progressing in December when these pages went to press.

The main stumbling blocks to agreement throughout the sessions were the Turks' attempt to regain Western Thrace, the question of the Greek minorities in Turkey, the maintenance of the "open door" in the new Turkey, and the status of the Straits. This last problem proved particularly thorny, and its complexity was augmented by the action of the Russians in backing the Turks' proposals, and showing an even greater intransigence than their Turkish allies in demanding that Turkish sovereignty be preserved. Dramatic moments were not wanting, as when Ismet Pasha announced that the Greek population remaining in Turkey would be expelled within a time limit, and when Richard Washburn Child, the American Ambassador to Italy, and unofficial American observer at the conference, read a statement declaring for the open door, and later made a solemn declaration in favor of the complete internationalization of the Straits. The Straits problem was still hampering progress after it was believed a solution had been found at the last session, recorded in this magazine Dec. 9.

The opening of the conference, had the French had their way, would have occurred on Nov. 13, shortly after the arrival of the Turkish delegation, headed by General Ismet Pasha, head of the Turkish

Military Staff and the chief negotiator at the armistice conference at Mudania. Premier Poincaré's plan to open the conference with only the French and Turks present was protested, however, by the British and the date was postponed to Nov. 20. This delay enabled the British, French and Italian leaders—Lord Curzon, the British Foreign Secretary; Premier Poincaré for France and Premier Mussolini for Italy—to arrange a meeting to agree upon a common line of allied action at Lausanne. A five hours' conversation between Lord Curzon and Premier Poincaré at Paris on Nov. 18 was supplemented on the eve of the opening by discussions with Premier Mussolini in the suburbs of Lausanne. It was announced subsequently that the Allies were in complete accord on all points.

The conference opened on Nov. 20 in the Lausanne Casino. The day was one of brilliant sunshine, which glittered from the snow-capped Alps across Lake Lemman. The front rows of the amphitheatre were occupied by the Premiers and Foreign Ministers and other delegates; about half the 400 seats were reserved for secretaries, with several rows in the rear for distinguished guests. On the stage, decorated with bright flowers and potted palms, sat 200 journalists, representing fifty nations. Among the serried ranks of officials on the floor stood out Premier Poincaré, wearing gray gloves like those which made M. Clemenceau famous; Lord Curzon, dignified and calm; Venizelos, thinner than in the days of the Paris conference, careworn from the burden now placed on him to save his country from the disaster recently come upon it; M. Stambulisky,

the peasant Premier of Bulgaria, come to secure for his country, if possible, an outlet on the Aegean; Baron Hayashi, white-mustached, dapper, silent; Ismet Pasha, the Turkish Generalissimo, surrounded by his Turkish colleagues; Mussolini, the Premier of Italy today through a revolutionary coup d'état, his presence made piquant by the fact that fifteen years before he had been deported by the Swiss Government for alleged anarchistic activities. In a corner in the front row sat Richard Washburn Child, clean-shaven and youthful-looking, ready to uphold the vital interests of the United States despite the unofficial character in which he attended the allied negotiations with the Turks. Near him sat Rear Admiral Mark L. Bristol, the American High Commissioner of Constantinople, accompanied by several aids and secretaries, and Joseph G. Grew, American Minister to Switzerland. A formal protest against the presence of Americans at the conference made by the Turkish delegation at the second session was withdrawn on the intervention of Lord Curzon.

No Russians were present, owing to the allied insistence that the Russian delegation be admitted to the conference only when the question of the status of the Turkish Straits came up. M. Tchitcherin, the Soviet Foreign Minister, had tried vainly for weeks to secure full admission to the discussions, and M. Rakovsky, the Ukrainian Soviet Premier, pending Tchitcherin's arrival, created a storm by voicing this demand anew. The Soviet plea was again categorically refused Nov. 29, despite the fact that Premier Mussolini was said to have favored it.

The opening session lasted only seventeen minutes, and the proceedings were formal. The real business of the conference began at the second session on Nov. 21. This session was marked first by a partial agreement of England, France and Italy on the program of peace with Turkey, second, an initial clash with the Turkish delegation, and, third, the organization of committees and a decision against publicity. The program agreed upon had fifteen points, covering the following ground:

1. Western Thrace—The Greek status quo is

in general maintained, and the Turkish demand for a plebiscite is refused.

2. The Frontier of Western Thrace—To be as ceded by Turkey to Bulgaria in 1915, with the possibility of an outlet to the Aegean for the Bulgars.

3. Freedom of the Straits—The principle is accepted by all the Allies; the means by which it is to be secured are to be discussed later, the Allies insisting that certain regions on the Bosphorus, the Sea of Marmora and the Dardanelles be demilitarized under conditions to be determined.

4. The capitulations as such are to be abandoned and replaced by special laws and other provisions to be proposed.

5. The Aegean Islands—To be ceded by Turkey to the Allies for their disposition.

6. The Frontiers of Syria and Irak—To be maintained except so far as the mandatory powers may consent to local rectifications.

7. Mandated Territories—No changes to be admitted.

8. Allied Graves—The ownership of the soil to be transferred to the Allies.

9. Indemnities—A Turkish indemnity to be demanded, as provided by the allied resolutions of March, 1922, the amount to be fixed by the Allies; the Turkish demand for an indemnity from Greece to be refused.

10. The Mudania Convention—To be strictly enforced, and all Turkish violations of it to be resisted.

11. The Constantinople Situation—No withdrawal of the allied troops before complete ratification of the new treaty with Turkey.

12. The Protection of Minorities—With regard to minorities in Asia, adherence as far as possible to the September resolutions; much stricter conditions for minorities in European Turkey.

13. The Turkish Army—General terms for the Turkish Army in Asia not to be strict, but stricter limitation to be put upon the forces in Europe, the figures to be fixed later.

14. Financial Clauses—To be arranged in discussion among the allied experts.

15. Economic Clauses—Insistence upon recognition by the Turkish Government of allied concessions and annulment of the Turkish repudiation of contracts made since the armistice of 1918.

The clash with the Turks was caused by the inclusion of the Americans, the question of whether the presidency of the conference meetings should devolve in rotation on the Turks, and the question of publicity. The Turks lost on all counts.

The committees appointed were: (1) Committee on Territorial Matters, to be first presided over by Lord Curzon; (2) Committee on the Status of Foreigners in Turkey, with Marquis Garroni as Chairman, and (3) Committee on Financial and

Economic Issues, with M. Barrère, French Ambassador to Rome, as Chairman.

The first question that came up for discussion at the meeting of Nov. 22 was the Turkish demand for the holding of a plebiscite in Western Thrace, still occupied by Greece. At the Mudania conference the Turks had been given possession of Eastern Greece up to the Maritza River, and the Greek Army and population had been evacuated from the eastern province under the terms of the armistice agreement. Ex-Premier Venizelos, acting for Greece, at once opposed the demand, and asked that the status of the western province be not discussed at Lausanne. He was supported by both the Yugoslavs and the Rumanians, and the Turks were unanimously voted down by the allied representatives. The Turkish demand for an extension of their railroad line to Karsagatch met the same fate. At the afternoon session of the same day the Bulgarians presented their demands for an outlet on the Aegean through Western Thrace. The allied representatives were generally favorable, but differed as to how such an outlet should be given. Premier Mussolini left the conference in the evening for Rome.

Ismet Pasha reopened the Turkish case in favor of a plebiscite in Western Thrace at the session of Nov. 23. His arguments were set at naught by decisions reached in the territorial committee to have a twenty-kilometer zone between Western Thrace and Turkey in Europe. The Turks were finally induced to accept this arrangement.

It was further decided to satisfy the Bulgarian claim for an outlet by giving them the use of the port of Dedeagatch with a passage through a thirty-kilometer decentralized zone on each side of the Maritza River, which will be under the protection of the Allies or the League of Nations. The two sessions of Nov. 24 were occupied with discussions of these arrangements. At the afternoon session, Ismet Pasha demanded that the zone agreed upon should be placed under international control, on the ground that otherwise Adrianople would be exposed to attack. M. Venizelos strongly opposed the installation of international authority in this zone,

but favored the control of Dedeagatch by an international board. The Bulgarians put in a counter-claim for Bulgarian control of Dedeagatch. "The temper of the speech of M. Venizelos alone indicates what difficulties Bulgaria would have in dealing through a port which is not actually in her possession," was the retort of M. Stambulisky.

The meetings of the next few days were not productive of any definite results, beyond those already reached. The Russians pressed for admission to the conference upon an equal basis, and the Allies definitely and unanimously refused. Discussion of the fate of the Greek islands at the entrance of the Dardanelles took place at the session of Nov. 29. These Aegean islands are Lemnos, Samothrace, Imbros and Tenedos. Ismet Pasha refused to discuss the status of these islands unless the Russians were present, recalling Lord Curzon's own words that the subject interlocked with the Straits settlement. Allied efforts to keep the Russians out failed owing to Ismet Pasha's resolute attitude, and it was finally agreed to begin the discussion of the Straits settlement with the Russians in attendance. The territorial committee, however, adopted the report of General Weygand's subcommittee recommending the demilitarization of the Islands of Mitylene, Chios, Samos and Nikaria, lying off the Anatolian coast.

What was generally interpreted as a black page of modern history was written by Ismet Pasha at the session of Dec. 1. The Turkish leader stood before the allied statesmen, and admitted that the banishment from Turkish territory of nearly a million Christian Greeks had been decreed by the Angora Government. The allied statesmen accepted the decree, and set about finding ways to aid and facilitate this enforced exodus. The meeting had been scheduled under the title of "Exchange of Prisoners." The delegates left the conference two hours later with solemn faces. It was soon made evident that the Turks intended to extend the discussion far beyond that of war prisoners, when Ismet Pasha proposed that the whole question of minorities be dealt with immediately. This proposal followed the reading of a report by Dr. Nansen dealing with the conditions

in Anatolia, and his proposal that all Greeks remaining under Turkish control be removed without delay to prevent their deaths from starvation and other agencies. Lord Curzon declared that immediate steps must be taken to remove the Greeks by Dec. 15, the date set by the Turks for completion of the evacuation. Ismet at once agreed that all Greeks must leave Anatolia, and that Greeks in Constantinople must also go. Lord Curzon protested, and M. Venizelos declared that Greece would be unable to take in these hundreds of thousands of exiles. Warned of the danger that the Turks living in Western Thrace would be deported in retaliation by the Greeks, Ismet Pasha proposed an interchange of Turk and Greek nationals between the two countries.

Lord Curzon then rose to read some impressive statistics in an effort to visualize the seriousness of the issue at stake. He cited figures from American sources showing that before 1914 there were 1,600,000 Greeks in Anatolia. Between 1914 and 1918 300,000 died, left the country or otherwise disappeared. Between 1919 and 1922 another 200,000 left Anatolia or disappeared. In September and October of this year another reduction of 500,000 took place, leaving now 500,000 or 600,000 Greeks in Anatolia, most of whom were males between 15 and 60, to whom the Turks had refused permission to leave.

"In other words," said the British Foreign Minister, "a million Greeks have been killed, deported or have died."

Lord Curzon said that there had been 300,000 Greeks in Constantinople, most of whom were still there; 320,000 Greeks in Eastern Thrace, some of whose families had been there for a thousand years and more, had fled before the dread of the Turks, leaving desert areas behind them.

Turning to the issue of the prisoners of war, Lord Curzon said that the Greeks held 10,000 Turkish soldiers and about 3,800 Turkish civilians. The Turks hold about 30,000 Greek soldiers. He further pointed out that there were in Greece proper, in the Greek islands and Western Thrace, 480,000 Moslems. He further mentioned 120,000 Greeks who have been deported by the Turks into inner Anatolia. He recommended that immediate steps be taken to solve the tragic problem.

Ismet demanded that the Greeks free at once the Turkish civilians whom they held, whom he called hostages. He said that some of Lord Curzon's figures were too high, but he did not deny that the Turks had decreed that all Greeks must leave their territory. The outcome of the discussion was the appointment of a sub-committee to consider means for getting the Greeks out of Turkish territory.

At the session of Dec. 6, however, the Allies, after full consideration, came out with a strong protest against the Turkish plan for deportation of the 200,000 Greeks in Constantinople. The American delegation supported the allied position. Mr. Grew read a formal statement of protest on general humanitarian grounds, which was listened to with great interest by all present. Riza Nur Bey, the second Turkish delegate, declared that neither the Allies nor the American delegates understood the situation, and asserted that the Greeks and Turks could not live peaceably side by side, and that the only solution was for the Greeks to go. The whole question of deportation, therefore, reached a deadlock.

The question of the open door came up at the session of Nov. 28, when Mr. Child, the American observer, dramatically made his declaration in favor of the full maintenance of this principle, and against the conclusion of any and all secret or unfair territorial or economic agreements. The American statement made a great sensation. The statement clearly applied to the right of American participation in the Mosul oil lands. Coming after the open door program for China outlined by Secretary Hughes at the Washington Arms conference, and after the American note to Holland on the Java oil concessions, the statement was interpreted as a new and strong attempt to gain international recognition of the John Hay doctrine of the open door. The Turks were encouraged, interpreting the statement as a strong counter-stroke against British control of the Mosul oil district. Ismet Pasha called on Ambassador Child and expressed agreement with his views.

It was no secret that the Turks planned to regain possession of the Mosul wells by military force, and had concentrated Turkish troops around this area. The French

and British press criticised the American proposals. On Nov. 27, however, Lord Curzon authorized an official statement that England was ready to support the open door policy in Turkey, and regarded the San Remo agreement for division of the Mosul oil fields as void. The dominating issue of the line of the Turkish frontier to the north of the Mesopotamian mandate remained unsolved, the British refusing to move this line south of Mosul, and the Turks vainly insisting on this change. French support of the British claim to Mosul, gained by concessions from the Sultan in 1914, and confirmed by the Sèvres Treaty and the Mudros armistice, was denounced by the Turks, who, after sending a delegate to complain to Premier Poincaré at Paris, declared that the French "treason" was complete. The Turkish position was that all concessions by the Sultan had been annulled by Angora; that the Sèvres Treaty and all other agreements were abrogated, and that the oil wells belonged to Turkey by right.

The Turks received from Russia more support for their claims to sovereignty over the Straits than they bargained for. For eight hours on Dec. 3 M. Tchitcherin, who had at last arrived from Russia to take over the leadership of the Soviet delegation, and to direct the discussions on the problem of the Straits, on which he is an authority, argued with the chief delegate of the Turkish delegation in favor of the closing of the Straits to all warships and of their fortification by the Turks. The Turks were inclined to accept the British proposal that the Straits be demilitarized.

This momentous problem came up before the conference at the session of Dec. 4. The Russians expounded their argument favoring Turkish fortification and patrol of these vitally important passages. The reticence of the Turks inspired Lord Curzon's charge that the Turks were hiding behind the Russians' skirts, and he accused the Russians with being more pro-Turkish than the Turks for interested reasons—their desire to make the Black Sea a Russian lake. He insisted that the issue hinged on absolute freedom of the Straits for the merchantmen and warships of all nations. The Rumanian delegation supported the British contention, but the

Turks refused to go beyond a statement that they wished to see the national pact carried out, providing for the safety of Constantinople and the Sea of Marmora, and declared that they would like to hear the allied proposals. A strained situation arose when M. Tchitcherin joined in this insistence, and the allied spokesmen insisted in their turn on the Turks submitting their proposals first. The session adjourned sine die, in a hostile atmosphere.

At this juncture the American "observer" again intervened. The statement made by Ambassador Child at the session of Dec. 6 was the second bombshell exploded by the spokesman of the United States. Lord Curzon for the allied powers had presented the allied decision that the Straits must be free to all merchant ships and warships, and that the shores of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus must be demilitarized and placed under international control. Ambassador Child then rose and set forth the desire of the Washington Government that the Straits be kept open for all. This statement, declared to be a momentous utterance by many of the delegates, gave important support to the allied position and weakened the Russian claims for Turkey correspondingly. In words that had a Rooseveltian ring Mr. Child repudiated all limitation of international, and especially American, commerce, scorned the proposal of admitting one warship at a time and plainly implied that the United States would be ready to defend her rights with force if the necessity arose. The outcome as reported on Dec. 8 was the abandonment of the Russian view by the Turks, and a prospect of agreement, with the Turkish acceptance of the British and allied insistence on demilitarization, and free passage of merchantmen of all nations in times of war and peace, though the Turks maintained their demand that warships should pass only under restrictions. The Turks were still haggling over the conditions when these pages went to press. The final judgment of the delegates, after the conference had been in session for two weeks, was that something had been accomplished, but that with the subject of capitulations and other perilous issues still to be discussed, stormy waters were ahead.



(Wide World Photos)

DR. WILHELM CUNO
The new German Chancellor



SIR JOHN BRADBURY

British Treasury official, who was appointed Chairman of the Allied Reparation Commission in Germany

FRANCO-BRITISH SPLIT ON GERMAN REPARATIONS

WHILE the attempt to settle the problem of the Near East was proceeding at Lausanne, another important international gathering took place in London in the hope of reaching agreement in regard to German reparations. Owing to the complete divergence between the French and British views, the conference failed to reach agreement and, to save a split between the Allies, an adjournment was taken to Jan. 2, 1923.

The reparations conference opened in London on Dec. 9 and was attended by the Prime Ministers of Great Britain, France, Italy and Belgium. Two meetings, each lasting five hours, were held by Mr. Bonar Law, M. Poincaré, Signor Mussolini and M. Theunys.

M. Poincaré offered in behalf of France acceptance of a two-year moratorium for Germany, provided satisfactory guarantees were forthcoming, including measures for economic control of the Rhineland industries and partial occupation of the Ruhr district, with a division of soldiers to collect customs on the coal output.

Mr. Bonar Law, after pointing out that America's insistence on the payment of the British debt made it very difficult for Great Britain to discuss remission of the French war debt, gave a new turn to the negotiations by declaring that the Balfour note no longer existed for the British Government and that he was free to consider the whole question of cancellation of debts. The kind of settlement he desired was a moratorium sufficient for Germany to re-establish her finances and credit and stabilize the mark, a reduction of the indemnity to between 30,000,000,000 and 40,000,000,000 gold marks, and the abandonment by France of all proposals to take military action.

Dr. Karl Bergmann, German financial expert, on his arrival in London on Dec. 9, presented Chancellor Cuno's proposal to Mr. Bonar Law. After being considered by the Prime Ministers next day, it was rejected as unsatisfactory. The text of the

German proposal was withheld from the public.

Signor Mussolini stated that Italy's point of view was that Germany needed both a further moratorium and an international loan. He proposed that the reparations question should be dealt with in connection with interallied debts and in relation to the entire financial condition of Europe. Explaining his plan on Dec. 10, Signor Mussolini said that he did not think Europe's debts to the United States should be considered at the same time, as they were entirely beside the question. The Italian plan was, apart from that of the German note, the only one so far put before the Prime Ministers, for it was quite definite and concrete, having been set forth in a memorandum. As to its main principle, the reduction of German reparations in proportion to the amount of the interallied debts, the conference had adopted the Italian proposals. Asked what guarantees these proposals provided, Signor Mussolini replied that they were purely economic, not military.

That France was going to insist upon the occupation of the Ruhr as a fundamental guarantee for any moratorium was made clear by M. Poincaré on Dec. 10, and with equal emphasis it was stated by Mr. Bonar Law that the occupation of the Ruhr and the exploitation of the Rhineland would be penalties and not "economic guarantees," and that Great Britain could not consent to the imposition of such penalties.

It was on the third day, Dec. 11, that the conference broke up as the result of Mr. Bonar Law's point-blank refusal to agree to the French demand for the occupation of the Ruhr. It was decided, however, to hold another meeting of the Prime Ministers in Paris on Jan. 2 "so as to allow a plenary conference being assembled immediately afterward in order to arrive before Jan. 15 at definite decisions on the whole of the questions discussed in London."

THE GREEK POLITICAL EXECUTIONS

By ADAMANTIOS TH. POLYZOIDES

Editor, Atlantis, Greek Daily

Personalities and records of the six executed Ministers—Fifteen categorical accusations in the act of indictment to support the charge of treason—Venizelist sympathies of the revolutionary judges who rejected all allied appeals—The executed men victims of an inherited policy

THE civilized world was shocked at the news that on Nov. 28 three ex-Premiers of Greece, two former Ministers, and the late Commander General of the Greek Armies in Asia Minor, had been summarily shot by order of a court-martial following a military trial of unprecedented rigor and severity in the annals of Greece.

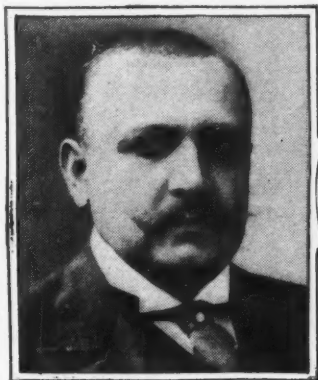
The men thus shot were the leaders of a régime, elected on Nov. 14, 1920, by an overwhelming vote of the Greek people. They were the men who had brought about the downfall of the Venizelist Party in that election, and they had a long record of public service behind them.

Demetrios Gounaris had been three times Premier of Greece and several times Minister under different Administra-

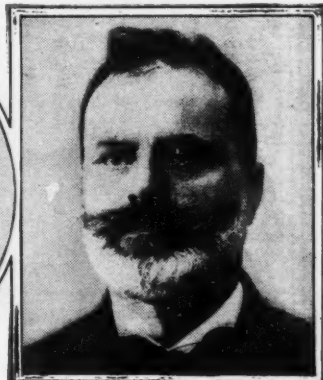
tions. He was the leader of the constitutional majority in the late National Assembly in which his adherents of the Popular Party numbered something like 185 out of a total membership of 369. He was a man of a wide range of culture, an eloquent speaker, a most distinguished lawyer, and a linguist and scholar as well.

Nicholas Stratos, leader of the Reformist Party, was one of the best legal minds of Greece, a restless spirit, a very bright man, not altogether very scrupulous, but very able and very active. He had served Greece under different political banners, including that of Mr. Venizelos, whose Marine Minister he was during the Balkan wars.

Petros Protopapadakis, former Premier, and several times Minister, had for thirty



(P. & A.)



(International)

Executed in Athens on Nov. 28 after being tried and convicted of treason at the instance of the Greek Revolutionary Government: (At left) George Baltadjis, former Foreign Minister; (centre) General George Hadjianestis, former Commander-in-Chief of the Greek forces in Asia Minor; (at right) former Premier Protopapadakis



DEMETRIOS GOUNARIS

(Keystone)

Former Prime Minister of Greece, executed Nov. 28, 1922

years represented in the Chamber his constituency of the Island of Naxos, in the Cyclades. An engineer and mathematician by profession, he was attracted to political life, because he thought his talent would be needed there. He was the man who invented the "splitting" of banknotes as a means for getting an internal loan. He said in court that, although in his sixty-first year, he had never before been called upon to be tried for any cause, however trivial. Now for the first time he faced a court to receive a death sentence for having betrayed his country.

Nicholas Theotokis of Corfu, was a member of the none too numerous Greek aristocracy; son of the great leader George N. Theotokis, dead in 1916, he had been Minister to Germany during the first years of the war; a very dangerous position to have in those days. He refused to advise Greece to side with Germany, although he was out of sympathy with the Allies, who wanted to give Constantinople to the Russians. He followed Constantine in his first exile, and after the 1920 elections he assumed the Portfolio of War. He was a very "correct" man, not brilliant, but solid and with confirmed convictions. He was shot for being a member of the Gounaris Government during the disastrous Asia Minor campaign.

George Baltadjis, who had the unique distinction of having served under half a dozen administrations as Foreign Minister, was a well-born, well-bred man, one of the few wealthy men of Greece, a perfect gentleman, and still better host. He was not a genius in either diplomacy or politics, but he enjoyed the friendship and the confidence of the Diplomatic Corps of Athens, as no other Greek Foreign Minister before him. Mr. Baltadjis was the most innocent victim of the last political butchery.

Brig. Gen. George Hadjianestis was one of the best educated officers of the Greek Army; he belonged to the French school, spoke French like a native, was a strict disciplinarian, and an ardent patriot. He served with distinction in the Balkan wars, and was against the Smyrna expedition from the start. The command of the Greek forces in Asia Minor was almost forced on him last June; he had been in

charge of the troops less than three months before the disaster came. He was shot for not being able to forestall the inevitable.

THE ACT OF INDICTMENT

The reader will think that such a description of the men who were shot on Nov. 28 in Athens is very favorable to them, and therefore out of harmony with the facts. It is therefore necessary to see what their accusers, Judges and executioners have to say against their victims. To this end we must consider the long act of accusation, prepared by the Revolutionary Investigating Committee and published in the Athens papers of Nov. 11, where it covers nearly twenty columns of solid matter.

This act opens with an introduction, which contains all the well-known and often-repeated accusations of the Venizelists against their opponents. It is claimed there that the return of the anti-Venizelists to power in 1920 was sure to mean the destruction of Greece, and that, therefore, the leaders of those factions ought not to have hidden that fact from the Greek people. The act states that the leaders of the anti-Venizelist parties who took part in the electoral campaign, which resulted in the overthrow of the Venizelist Party, not only deliberately betrayed the people, but that they also committed a crime by getting themselves elected instead of their opponents. The next to the last paragraph of this introduction says this explicitly.

The first chapter of the act of accusation, following the introduction, accuses Constantine of having been pro-German, of having assumed the general command of the army in Asia Minor during the campaign of 1921, and then of having abandoned the army after its failure before Angora.

The second chapter is fully concerned with the extent of the responsibility of the accused Premiers and Ministers, from the day of their assumption of power in 1920, to the day of the fall of Smyrna. There are fifteen causes of action against the accused. These causes are the following:

1.—The accused had refused to comply with the request of the Entente Powers,



GENERAL A. PAPOULAS
Former commander of Greek Army in Asia Minor, who escaped arrest when charged with treason.



PRINCE ANDREW OF GREECE
Charged with disobeying orders of the Greek General Staff and punished by banishment.



GENERAL VICTOR DOUSMANIS
Former Chief of Staff of the Greek Army, arrested by order of the Revolutionary Committee.

which on Dec. 3, 1920, had notified the Government that they objected very strongly to the recall of King Constantine by way of a plebiscite, the result being that the plebiscite was held, and the King recalled to Greece.

2.—The accused had neglected to take possession of North Epirus, which had been ceded to Greece by Italy, in accordance with a treaty between Messrs. Venizelos and Tittoni. (According to recent information from Rome that treaty was never ratified by Italy.)

3.—The accused had refused to heed the allied note of Nov. 8, 1920, in which the Entente Powers formally warned Greece that the return of Constantine would result in the economic blockade of Greece. The accused therefore were to blame for Greece's inability to get the benefit of a credit of \$33,000,000 held in the United States, a credit of £5,000,000 held in London, and another credit of 566,000,000 francs, which according to the act of accusation would have been given Greece for the asking had Constantine not returned to the throne.

4.—The accused are held responsible for reinstating in the army persons not enjoying the confidence of the Entente.

5.—They are responsible for not having advised King Constantine to abdicate after a French demand to that effect.

6.—They are accused of having started the first offensive against Eski-Shehir be-

fore the mobilized classes had taken their places at the front.

7.—They are accused of continuing the advance toward Angora after the occupation of the railroad Eski-Shehir, Afiun-Kara-Hissar.

8.—They are accused of having allowed King Constantine to become chief of the army.

9.—They are accused of the squandering of public money.

10.—They are accused of having allowed the allied powers to find a solution for the Greek problem, without specifically stating the limit of the Greek territorial and national demands.

11.—They are accused of undertaking the advance on Constantinople through General Hadjianestis, who was extremely unpopular, and who was also known to be mentally unbalanced (sic).

12.—They are held responsible for the weakening of the Asia Minor front for the benefit of the "foolish" expedition on Constantinople.

13.—They are accused of having sacrificed additional credits owed Greece by the Allies, at the expense of the country's finances.

14.—They are accused of having permitted the constitution and operation of an occult cabinet under the Presidency of Prince Nicholas, Constantine's brother, the object of this ministry being to terrorize the country.

15.—They are finally accused of not allowing Mr. Venizelos to represent the unredeemed Greeks in Europe.

These are, then, the specific reasons for which the former Ministers were accused, tried, condemned, sentenced and shot by the Revolutionary Court. The rest of the long document is a further explanation of the above fifteen points.

THE JUDGES AND ACCUSERS

The men who tried the former Premiers were self-appointed officers who enjoyed the confidence of the Revolutionary Committee. The President of the Court-Martial was a General known for his bitter opposition to King Constantine and the anti-Venizelists and for his blind devotion to Mr. Venizelos. The Revolutionary Judge Advocate was the ex-Chief of Staff under the Venizelos régime, who was retired by the new régime; another revolutionary Judge was shorn of his command by the anti-Venizelist régime for being too much of a Venizelist. The rest of the accusers, finally, who at the same time acted as Judges, belonged to the defeated section of the Asia Minor army, who held the former Ministers responsible for the disaster.

All these soldiers claimed that they acted by revolutionary right, in which they saw an expression of the sovereign will of the Greek people. For the same reason they claimed that no appeal was permissible from any decision of the revolutionary court-martial. The accused Ministers were tried in an atmosphere of passion and revenge; their lawyers were terrorized, and all evidence in their favor promptly ruled out. No comment on the proceedings was allowed to the press, which is under the strictest form of censorship, and no paper was allowed to print its own minutes of the trial, the court furnishing all of them with the same communication.

Under such circumstances it became apparent that no fair trial was possible. It was claimed, therefore, by the leaders of various political groups in Greece, that as the former Ministers were still the legally and constitutionally elected representatives of the Greek people, they ought to be tried by a special court, or, still bet-



(Keystone)

COLONEL GONATAS

Head of the Greek Revolutionary Committee who has become Prime Minister in succession to Alexander Zaimis

ter, by the National Assembly to be elected in the near future. In that way alone could full justice be done to the men who, no matter what their mistakes, and even crimes, were entitled to a fair trial by their peers.

ALLIED INTERVENTION VAIN

The Revolutionary Court rejected all these pleas. The Diplomatic Corps in Athens, with the sole exception of the Minister from France, took steps to insure the right of the accused to appeal to the National Assembly after sentence was imposed upon them. The Revolutionary Committee did not heed this diplomatic plea, although no one would accuse the Entente Ministers of being friendly to the régime of King Constantine.

In the meantime the trial was concluded with astonishing dispatch, notwithstanding

the fact that it was impossible in so short a time to examine all the evidence and hear all the witnesses. Sentence was passed on the eight accused men on Nov. 28. Six were shot four hours after the sentence was read. Two—General Xenophon Stratigos and Admiral Michael Goudas—escaped with their lives, but had to suffer the penalty of degradation and submit to a life term at hard labor.

The allied Ministers, including the representative of the United States, tried to prevent the executions, pointing out the dangers of hasty judgment, and warning the Revolutionary Committee of the bad impression that such an act of unprecedented severity would create in every civilized country of the world. They failed in their efforts, because the accused men were doomed from the moment their bitterest political enemies assumed power.

The pity of it all is that the men who were thus executed for the failure of the Asia Minor campaign were the victims of a policy which was not their own. They were the leaders of a régime which did not believe in Asiatic expansion and whose political and military philosophy was exclusively tied with a progressive

advance on Constantinople by way of Thrace. Against that policy stood Mr. Venizelos, who as early as 1915 advised King Constantine to forego, not only Eastern and Western Thrace, but even Eastern Macedonia itself, in exchange for Asiatic expansion. Both Constantine and the fallen Ministers vetoed the Venizelos plan. And yet when they came to power in 1920 they found the country so deeply involved in the Asia Minor enterprise and so committed to the liberation of the innocent Christian populations of Asia Minor that to abandon that country, when the army could still fight, and to sacrifice a position they firmly held at the time, appeared to them as monstrous. Thus willy-nilly they had to follow the Venizelos program and the Venizelos policy in Asia Minor. They failed because this policy was bound to fail on the day when the Allies ceased to work as a unit in the Near East, and when, long before the Greek election of 1920, the drift in French and Italian policy in the Near East had reached a point where anything else was permissible but British possession of Constantinople and the Straits and British-Greek domination of the Eastern Mediterranean.

ACTIVITIES OF THE AMERICAN RED CROSS

THE American Red Cross, during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1922, spent more than a million dollars for emergency relief measures necessitated by seventy-two disasters, in which 674 persons were killed and 521 injured. These disasters, some of considerable magnitude, caused a property damage of more than \$30,000,000 and rendered more than 145,000 persons homeless or in urgent need of assistance. The year's disasters included 26 floods, 19 tornadoes, 15 fires, 4 epidemics, 2 theatre collapses, 2 shipwrecks (one of these the wreck of the United States airship Roma in Virginia), a bridge collapse, a mine explosion, a railway collision and a drought. The flood at San Antonio, Texas, caused a property damage of \$6,000,000 and 100 fatalities. The Knickerbocker Theatre collapse in Washington, which caused 100 deaths and injuries to 125 people, enlisted Red Cross

aid. Relief was furnished on sudden emergency call to the survivors of the Roma wreck, in which a score of officers and men were killed. Two fires in the Philippine Islands—one in Manila, which destroyed 1,000 homes and occasioned a loss of \$1,500,000, and the other at Tonio, which rendered 3,000 homeless—called forth active Red Cross aid. Quick and effective medical relief was given in the smallpox epidemic at Santo Domingo, with 22,000 cases and 225 deaths in a single day. A hurricane in Santo Domingo and a flood in San Salvador tried the Red Cross resources. Its aid extended to non-combatants wounded in the civil war in China last May. Many floods, tornadoes, storms, conflagrations and other disasters in various sections of the United States called forth swift and effective emergency measures.

BETRAYAL OF GREECE BY LLOYD GEORGE

By PAXTON HIBBEN

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Mission to Armenia

*A revolting chapter of diplomatic duplicity and double dealing
which caused the execution of six of the most eminent men of
Greece—The responsibility of Lloyd George and Venizelos*

THE international complications raised by the hasty execution on Nov. 28 at Athens of the former Premiers, Demetrios P. Gounaris, Nicholas Stratos and Petros Protopapadakis, the former Ministers Nicholas Theotokis and George P. Baltazis, and Lieutenant General Hadjianestis, late commander of the Greek army in the fields, are striking deeper into the roots of world politics as the facts of the recent defeat of the Greek army by the Turks become known. The revelation of Premier Gounaris's letter to Lord Curzon, written last February and frankly pointing out the hopelessness of the Greek military position in Asia Minor, is only the first of the indications of the extent of the responsibility for the disaster to the Greek forces which has brought the Turks and the Russians together at Lausanne, speaking the language of victors.

The six Greek leaders were executed in the final analysis because they were supposed to have insisted upon the continuation of a hopeless military campaign against the Turks, with fatal results. It now appears that of all the Greeks these six men and former King Constantine, exiled from his native land on the same ground, knew most clearly that the campaign was hopeless, and did all they humanly could to stop it in time to save their country from disaster. The responsibility for the whole Asian adventure of the Greeks and its continuation after the return of Constantine lies elsewhere.

In addition to the Gounaris letter to Lord Curzon, the following letter, written by General Hadjianestis, one of the condemned men, on Jan. 9, 1922, to a cousin residing in New York, is a document in evidence of the first importance:

Geneva, Switzerland, Jan. 9, 1922.

Dear Dimitry:

Your letter of Nov. 23, in which you congratulated me on my promotion to a Lieutenant Generalcy, was forwarded to me from Athens. You would be surprised, however, to learn that this promotion left me cold—entirely cold; and only the gratification of my friends and relatives over it moved me. Yours pleased me particularly, since it brought news of you after your long silence.

How many dramatic events have taken place since I last heard from you! I proceeded to Greece at the same time as the King. Great days, indeed, that stirred one's deepest feelings! Wonderful people of extraordinary material hopes! Enthusiasm! Frenzy!

Yet what a disappointment followed. Unhappily I have been convinced since the first day that the Government did not understand—would not understand—the spirit of so clear a popular verdict. The so-called policy of carrying over the cursed policy of cowardice—this spineless policy was adopted. Instead of hitting the venizelist viper on the head, it was indirectly warmed.

Up to Dec. 13, I was given no commission whatever, though from Nov. 1 my legal status called me to active duty. I then submitted my first report, a strong one, calling things by their real names. I made it clear that I would accept no commission so long as individuals continued to disgrace the uniform who under existing laws should either be shot for neglect or retired, and so long as foreign officers continued to control the highest military dispositions—especially officers of those countries which so cruelly and so despicably humiliated and degraded and soiled what we cherished as most moral, ideal and honest. I quote verbatim from what I wrote. And I asked that either I should be duly assigned to duty under these conditions or placed on the retired list.

This memorandum of mine remained unanswered till Feb. 1, when, in pursuance of what I had said, I applied for retirement; but this application, too, remained unanswered.

Meanwhile, important events were taking place in Athens and London, as a consequence of which, as you know, Kaloguyeronoulos was first called to London and Gounaris later on, and we were forced to continue alone the Asia Minor struggle. In my judgment such a decision was a crime, and I so informed the King in a confer-

ence which lasted an hour and a half. Without result, as the King insists upon being over-constitutional, and in not interfering with but following popular will.

All that I foresaw, dear Dimitry—indeed, every bit—has taken place in Asia Minor; and today, with an expenditure of hundreds of millions, if not billions, and the loss of thousands of sturdy men, we are again in the hands of charlatans, and in a worse position than that of last February.

The “policy of cowardice” to which the executed soldier refers—the spineless policy—was that pursued by Premier Demetrios Rhallys, after the elections of Nov. 14, 1920. These elections were generally assumed to formulate a mandate from the Greek people to abandon the Asia Minor adventure, upon which Premier Venizelos had launched his country on May 14, 1919, when, with the connivance of Lloyd George, he landed Greek troops at Smyrna. The period between the elections and Feb. 1, 1920, of which General Hadjianestis speaks with such bitterness, was that during which Demetrios Rhallys, who had been placed in power by Venizelos before the latter fled from Greece, was Premier.

Who was responsible for his policy of continuing the war, when the elections had by “so clear a popular verdict” declared for immediate return to peace? The reference in General Hadjianestis’s letter to “foreign officers who controlled the highest military dispositions of the Greek Army” is to the French Military Mission to Greece, which had been placed in virtual control of the Greek Army by Venizelos in 1917, when with the backing of General Sarraïl’s troops Venizelos returned to Athens to assume charge of the Greek Government without the formality of an election by the Greek people. This mission, as well as the similar British naval mission, was retained by Premier Rhallys, whose assurances to the French and British that the elections in Greece would in no wise affect the maintenance of a formidable Greek force in Asia Minor, formulated the policy of which General Hadjianestis complains.

The roots of the matter strike back of this, however. There are two responsibilities involved: that for the inauguration of the Greek imperialistic policy and that for its continuance after the elections of 1920.

VENIZELOS AS IMPERIALIST

The idea of seizing the occasion of the World War to double the territory of the Greece of 1912 as the price of Greece’s entry into the war on the side of the Entente belongs to Venizelos. His two memoranda on that head submitted to King Constantine in January, 1915, contain the program of Greek imperialism. Both King Constantine and Demetrios Gounaris, leader of the Popular Party in Greece, were opposed to this program, and in the elections of December, 1915, it was definitely rejected at the polls.

When Venizelos returned to power under French protection in 1917, the abandoned program of imperialism was resuscitated, and in March, 1919, Venizelos, to gain the favor of the French, sent Greek troops to join the French forces in the Ukraine, while two months later, with the knowledge and consent of Lloyd George, he seized Smyrna. Greece was thus definitely embarked on an imperialistic war against which the Greek people had already pronounced.

The campaign from Smyrna resulted in nothing decisive, and the mobilization of the Greek Army, virtually constant since 1912, continued, with mounting costs. Those in Greece who opposed the adventure were imprisoned or exiled. It was not until November, 1920, that Venizelos, counting upon the credit he would gain with the Greek voters from his diplomatic triumphs at the Peace Conference, ventured to put the Asia Minor campaign to the touch of a popular verdict. It was overwhelmingly repudiated.

Normally, this would have meant in any country the immediate cessation of a fruitless enterprise. The popular verdict was so understood by Constantine, then in exile in Switzerland, who in a guarded statement to the *Petit Parisien* on Nov. 19, 1920, declared for peace with Turkey, and for putting an end to what he termed the “adventures” of Venizelos. The reply of the British Government was prompt and unequivocal. In a memorandum to Premier Leygues of France, a résumé of which was published in the *NEW YORK TIMES* of Nov. 29, Lord Curzon insisted “that the Greek Army shall be maintained at its present strength, and that the Rhallys Cab-

inet shall not include men viewed with disfavor by the Allies."

The former demand disposed definitely of any possibility of peace in the Near East. Rhallys had been left in power by Venizelos after the Cretan had been defeated at the polls, to continue the war. He would be retained in power and he would continue the war. The second demand was aimed directly at Gounaris, the leader of the victorious peace party, and at others like General Hadjianestis, who opposed the Smyrna adventure. Gounaris had received an immense majority in the elections, proportionately comparable to the majority given President Harding a few weeks previous; Rhallys, placed in the Premiership by Venizelos, had nothing that even approached a majority. Yet Rhallys was retained in power through pressure from the British Foreign Office, and Gounaris was forbidden to take office.

PEACE ATTEMPTS FRUSTRATED

After his return to Greece on Dec. 15, 1920, King Constantine repeated his declaration in favor of early peace with even more positiveness. Venizelos, he said, had overreached Greece's possibilities. Greece should have concentrated instead of expanding after the Balkan wars. "I believe that it is today impossible for Greece to hold the country Venizelos won for her at the Peace Conference," Constantine was quoted as saying. This was Gounaris's position also; but when Rhallys, the appointee of Venizelos, retired on Feb. 5, 1921, the British veto against Gounaris still held good, and Nicholas Kaloguyeropoulos, a former Premier who had no more strength in the Greek Parliament than Rhallys had enjoyed, was called to power. It was not Gounaris, the elected of the Greek people, who was first summoned to London to consult with the Lloyd George Cabinet and the Allies at St. James's Palace on Feb. 21, 1921, but Kaloguyeropoulos; it was the Venizelist Deputy, Colonel Sarryannis, who claimed that the Greek Army could easily drive the Turks to Angora, as M. Venizelos himself, a year before, had boasted that "Greece would win a complete victory over the Turkish Nationalists much quicker than the world thought possible," though under his Pre-

miership they had signally failed to do so. To make the task of the Greeks more difficult by sapping in advance the morale of the Greek soldiers, the London conference decided to deprive Greece of nearly three-fourths of the territory she had received by the Sèvres Treaty, over the protest of the Hellenic Parliament.

GOUNARIS AND LLOYD GEORGE

It was not until these dispositions had been virtually completed that Gounaris was finally called to London in March, not to consult on behalf of the Greek people who had elected him as to the future course of Greece, but to receive his orders from Mr. Lloyd George as to what Greece must do. The day following his return to Athens, on April 7, 1921, Demetrios Gounaris, for six years on the British blacklist, became the Premier of Greece, with full British approval to carry out, not the program of peace of the Greek people who had elected him, but the program of war laid down for Greece by Lloyd George and accepted for Greece by two politicians, Rhallys and Kaloguyeropoulos, who had never been empowered by the Greek voters to do anything.

It is at this period that the revelations of Mathieu Crussachi, who was with Gounaris in London during his conferences with Lloyd George, become interesting. It appears that the British Premier, through his secretary, Philip Kerr, told Gounaris to pay no attention to the conference's decision to strip Greece of the territory conferred by the Treaty of Sèvres, but to go ahead with the war, and all would yet be well. Though these assurances might have satisfied the Greek statesmen, they were of little use in strengthening the morale of the Greek soldiers, and the attempt by Kaloguyeropoulos to carry out the boasts he had made in London, by the offensive of March 23, ended in a smashing defeat of General Papoulas and the Hellenic army within a fortnight of its launching.

It was at this critical juncture that Gounaris finally came to power, twenty weeks after his election by the Greek people. He had in no sense been responsible for the terms imposed by the London conference, whereby Greece stood to lose

the greater part of her war gains as a means of bringing peace between France and Great Britain. He had neither promised nor prophesied a rapid Hellenic victory over the Turks; on the contrary, he had hurried back from London to take charge of the Greek campaign after the Greeks had suffered a serious military reverse. Having stood out for peace as long as he could, he accepted the inevitable and undertook a leadership for war, with the promised support of the British, to which his countrymen had suddenly swerved their volatile judgment under the influence of continued Venizelist propaganda.

I have before me a statement signed by Gounaris, on Sept. 24, 1921, in which he wrote that by the Summer of that year the idea of a victory in Asia Minor had so taken possession of the Greek people that, as he put it, "neither sovereign nor minister could have halted it if he tried."

What could be done to prepare a successful military offensive against the Turks, Gounaris and his War Minister, Theotokis, executed with him, did. I was with the Hellenic army as a war correspondent during the campaign, and I saw a great deal of Gounaris, Theotokis, Generals Stratigos and Dusmanis and King Constantine at that time. Not one of them believed for a moment that the Greek army had more than the thinnest of a gambler's chances of success. Yet they all believed—and it is in this that they might have been, perhaps, justly blamed—that it was, under the circumstances, the only thing to do. If the Greek army did not make the offensive that Lloyd George had demanded, they would lose all that Greece had already sacrificed so much, since Venizelos first sent troops to Smyrna, to gain; if, on the other hand, they failed, the only added loss to Greece would be that of the soldiers sacrificed in the effort. The Greek soldiers, moreover, were not only willing but clamorous to take the chance.

VICTORY AGAINST HEAVY ODDS

The campaign of July, 1921, was indeed a gamble. There were two Greek armies to make a simultaneous attack, from bases 350 miles apart, by sea, and with every trammel placed upon them by the Allies to prevent harmonious action. The north-

ern field base at Mudania was 650 miles by sea from the central supply base at the Piraeus; the southern base at Smyrna was 250 miles. From Smyrna, the line of attack was 240 miles inland, by a single track railway in control of the French. To keep the army supplied there were neither roads worthy of the name, nor anything resembling a modern transportation service. The Greeks used old, second-hand trucks bought of the Allies when the Saloniki army had been liquidated; donkeys, camels, peasants' carts, cabs from Brussa and Smyrna and country wagons, to carry their supplies. The legend that the British gave them any material aid whatever in their military operations is without foundation in fact. I saw but one British field officer, as an observer, with one of the Greek reserve divisions, and no British equipment of any kind save that bought by the Greeks at Saloniki. Some of the food was furnished by a British firm; but I later saw precisely the same food being furnished the Turkish army, by the same firm, through the Turkish sea-base at Trebizond.

The July campaign planned and carried out by the very men who have just been convicted of treason constituted the only victory achieved by the Greeks against the Turks since 1912. But it did not compass the destruction of the Turkish army, and it did not drive through to Angora. What it could have done, save for the interference of the Allies in the movements of the Hellenic fleet and their prohibition of landings of troops at points along the Sea of Marmora and the Black Sea, must remain mere conjecture. No army certainly has ever worked under such heavy handicaps of outside meddling as the Greek army did in this campaign. Yet the results were such as might well have satisfied even Lloyd George.

When the campaign was over, the Turkish counter-attacks repulsed and the new Greek line stabilized, the Greeks were holding a front roughly 350 miles long, 250 miles from their base of supplies, in enemy territory, with communications so rudimentary as to be virtually non-existent. Under the circumstances, an immediate solution of the Turco-Greek situation had to be found, if the Greek line was not ultimately to crumble. The Greek Treasury was empty. The maintenance of

the Greek Army was costing \$5,000,000 per month. The promised aid from Great Britain had not materialized.

In this predicament Gounaris set about trying to secure allied support to make peace in the Near East. But the French were busy securing concessions from the Turks in return for financial and military assistance, and Lloyd George was disappointed that the Greeks had not solved the Near Eastern problem for him by crushing Mustapha Kemal completely. The Greeks were desperate for some settlement. The United States had not recognized the Greek Government since the elections of 1920, and so American good offices were not available to bring about peace.

AMERICA REFUSES RECOGNITION

It was at this juncture that Gounaris and King Constantine asked me to carry to Washington their assurances that whatever conditions the United States might deem advisable to place upon American recognition of Greece would be promptly met. They told me that the British Minister in Athens had said that if the United States would only take the initiative, as an unconcerned power, in recognizing the Greek Government, Great Britain would profit thereby to propose a settlement of the Near Eastern question. I carried this message back to Washington, as I had been asked to do, and conveyed it to Mr. Hughes on Oct. 27, 1921. As I was acting merely personally and without official capacity of any kind, and solely in the interests of peace, I had suggested to Gounaris that a mission be sent to Washington duly empowered to give whatever assurances Mr. Hughes might require; and a mission of Messrs. Gennadius and Papafrango was so sent. I also saw Senator Lodge, and urged upon him that the time was ripe to end the senseless conflict in the Near East, and that the initiative of the United States might be invaluable in accomplishing this result.

In Washington, however, I found a disposition to follow the lead of Mr. Lloyd George in the matter of the recognition of Greece. I was told that the Administration was unwilling to take the responsibility unless it was clear that the British Government desired it, but I had no means of knowing whether this was

true or not. The State Department did have means of ascertaining, however, and the fact that the Greek Mission failed of its purpose in Washington, and that our Government did not recognize Greece, after all, may be taken as an indication that the Lloyd George Cabinet was playing a double game with the Greeks, and seeking merely to wear them out in holding their positions in Asia Minor until they might be willing to accept any terms dictated in Downing Street to regain peace. It is indisputable, however, that President Harding lost here an opportunity to take a practical step toward peace, at no cost to the United States, which might have saved the lives of millions of Christians in Asia Minor now fleeing for safety before the victorious Turks—whom we, in America, are now called upon to succor out of our charitable pockets.

THE INEVITABLE DISASTER

Events in Greece now moved with great rapidity. The military stalemate in Asia Minor was followed by a diplomatic stalemate in which Greece was left holding the bag. By January, 1922, the situation of the Greeks was untenable, and it was at this moment that the Greek Patriarch, Metaxakis, who had been campaigning for Venizelos in the United States, spread broadcast among the Greeks an alleged report of an interview with Lloyd George in which the latter for the first time raised the question of the abdication of King Constantine as a condition precedent to British aid of Greece. As Metaxakis had already shown himself, in the United States, considerably more of a politician of the Venizelist party than a prelate, it was not surprising that Mr. Lloyd George's secretaries denied the accuracy of this pretended account of the Metaxakis interview. Nevertheless, the harm had been done. The Greek soldiery felt that the British aid upon which they had counted was no longer to be expected. On Feb. 15, 1922, Gounaris wrote Lord Curzon frankly what the situation was in Asia Minor, but no attention was paid to his appeal for immediate realization of Lloyd George's pledges of assistance.

After four months of effort, moreover, in the capitals of Europe to secure some

sort of mediation looking to early peace, Gounaris did not succeed in obtaining anything tangible. On his return to Greece on March 11, 1922, he laid the situation frankly before the Hellenic Parliament, and, being refused a vote of confidence for his candor, resigned. When Stratos, the leader of the war party, failed to secure support, however, Gounaris returned to power on March 15. On March 22 the allied Foreign Ministers in Paris sent terms to both Greeks and Turks requiring the former to evacuate Smyrna. On May 12 Gounaris again resigned, as the Greek position in Asia Minor was becoming worse and worse, and when Stratos once more failed to constitute a war Ministry, a coalition Cabinet was formed under Petros Protopapadakis, in which Gounaris took the minor Portfolio of Justice. This coalition Government included five of the men who were recently executed—Protopapadakis, Gounaris, Theotokis, Stratos and Baltazis—and the two men who were sentenced to penal servitude for life, General Stratigos and Admiral Goudas. Its first act was to accept the resignation of General Papoulas, the Greek Commander-in-Chief, and to name in his place the sixth man executed, General Hadjianestis. It is significant that this Cabinet received a vote of confidence of 218 to 30 on May 24, 1922, while nine months later seven of its members and one of its appointees were condemned to death or life imprisonment.

WAR APPROVED BY NATION

The immediate events which led to this result were heralded by a Crown Council held on June 29, in which every political party in Greece was represented and at which it was decided to continue war in Asia Minor. There was no secret about the decision, and it was adopted with general popular approval. There was no longer question of driving to Angora, or of inflicting a decisive defeat upon the Turks. For almost a year, the French and the Italians had been supplying war material and money to the Turkish Nationalists, and the latter were now in much better case than the Greeks, whose army, holding its line as best it could with extended and difficult communications, had waited upon the diplomatic negotiations looking to peace, which had proved

fruitless. It is significant that in September, 1921, one of the objections raised in Washington to recognition of the Greek Government had been the fear lest such recognition, following hard upon the Greek victory of July, 1921, might be regarded as an approval of the imperialistic policy of Venizelos, while another of the objections had been that Venizelos had been ousted from his rule of Greece by the return of King Constantine.

By July, 1922, the Venizelist program of Greek imperialism in Asia Minor had been definitely abandoned, and the Greek Government was ready to meet the decision of the allied powers to abandon Smyrna, and erect that district into an autonomous State. But the Greeks wanted to cling to Thrace, as well as to save their army. With this in view, on July 27, they advised the Allies that they could wait for peace no longer, and proposed to end the war by the decisive step of moving their army to Thrace, by way of Constantinople; they added, however, that they would not move into the zone of the Straits without the permission of the allied powers. On July 30, in pursuance of this policy, Governor General Sterghiades of Smyrna proclaimed the establishment of the self-governing State of Occidental Asia Minor at Smyrna. This last step the Ottoman Governments both at Constantinople and Angora protested, though it was a practical solution of the Near Eastern problem which had already met general European approval.

While the Hellenic army was waiting an allied decision as to whether it could be moved to Thrace, as a first step to that peace which the Allies and the United States had, for months, urged upon the Greeks, and in the disorganization and general demoralization consequent upon the abandonment of a campaign which had endured for over three years, the Turkish forces, with the encouragement of the French, suddenly fell upon the Greek army and inflicted a crushing defeat. On Sept. 8, Governor General Sterghiades resigned and delivered Smyrna over to the Allies, and on Sept. 9, the Turks entered the city, which was destroyed by fire.

Meanwhile, during the entire period of the Greek diplomatic negotiations looking to peace, since the victory of July, 1921,

the supporters of M. Venizelos both in Greece and among the Greeks in the United States, had redoubled their activities. M. Venizelos himself had stumped the United States, organizing his political forces among the Greeks of America who, on account of the money which they send home to their families in Greece, wield a very considerable influence in Greek politics. The Patriarch Metaxakis, one of M. Venizelos's most active workers, had covered America as well as Europe in a campaign in behalf of his chief. The fullest political advantage was taken of the seeming inability of the Gounaris and Protopapadakis Ministers to reach an acceptable solution of Greece's problem, following the Hellenic victories of 1921, despite the fact that the failure of Gounaris's efforts to this end had been due to no neglect of his own. He was between the horns of a dilemma: if he did not make serious and far-reaching concessions to the Turks, he could hope for no solution; if he did make such concessions, the Greek people, still drunk with M. Venizelos's dream of a vast Hellenic empire, would, as they already had done in March, 1921, refuse to accept the arrangement Gounaris might reach.

LLOYD GEORGE'S RESPONSIBILITY

It had been the British influence which had forced the Greeks to continue what King Constantine had called "a mad gamble," when I talked with him in Smyrna in July, 1921. It had been the British influence which had operated to prevent the recognition of Greece by the United States and the exercise of America's moral force for peace. It had been British promises and encouragement which had kept the Greeks under arms, at terrific cost for so poor a country, for a year after the Greek Army had done its utmost in Asia Minor, without the least assistance from Mr. Lloyd George. It was now Mr. Lloyd George who threw Greece overboard, and with Greece both King Constantine and the five statesmen and three soldiers who had, against their own better judgment and against the will of the Greek people, carried Mr. Lloyd George's policy through to its bitter end, and to the ruin of Greece.

The Venizelist party in Greece, which had long prepared its coup, seized the occasion of Greece's defeat to return to power. A Cabinet formed under the Premiership of Nicholas Triandaphilakos, one of Greece's elder statesmen, succeeded the Coalition Ministry of Protopapadakis on Sept. 7; but this did not halt the plans of the Venizelists to seize power through a revolution. Constantine abdicated to meet the altered attitude of Lloyd George on Sept. 27; but neither did this arrest the Venizelists. A "revolutionary" Government was set up, in which Nicholas Politis, M. Venizelos's right-hand man in foreign affairs, was Foreign Minister; and all but one of the other Ministers (Gonatas) were Venizelist men.

Following the precedent set in 1917, when M. Venizelos returned to Athens, the trial of all the leading political opponents of M. Venizelos was instituted. On evidence largely based on the report of the interview which the Patriarch Metaxakis was alleged to have had with Lloyd George, five former Ministers and one General were convicted of treason and executed, while one former General and one former Admiral were condemned to penal servitude for life. Fines sufficient to beggar the families of the condemned men were imposed upon all who were shot.

With the removal of all his political rivals in Greece by this process, M. Venizelos remains the leading figure in Greek politics. But his dream of a vast Hellenic empire in Asia Minor has faded.

[In the British Parliament on Dec. 11, Lloyd George and Lord Birkenhead each denied that he had seen the February letters of Gounaris and Curzon.

While Lloyd George was speaking in the Commons, he took occasion to reply to statements that he had in conversation with Gounaris encouraged the Greeks to remain in Anatolia. He said:

"Lord Curzon and I saw Gounaris on Jan. 12 together, and I told him there would be no peace unless the Greek forces retired from Smyrna. I told him of Lord Curzon's memorandum which we were submitting to the Allies which involved that withdrawal. I said that those were the terms of the British Government and urged him very strongly to place himself in the hands of Lord Curzon, and he promised to do so.

"He was here in February, but I did not see him. He asked to see me, but I told him the matter was in the hands of Lord Curzon."—Editor CURRENT HISTORY.]

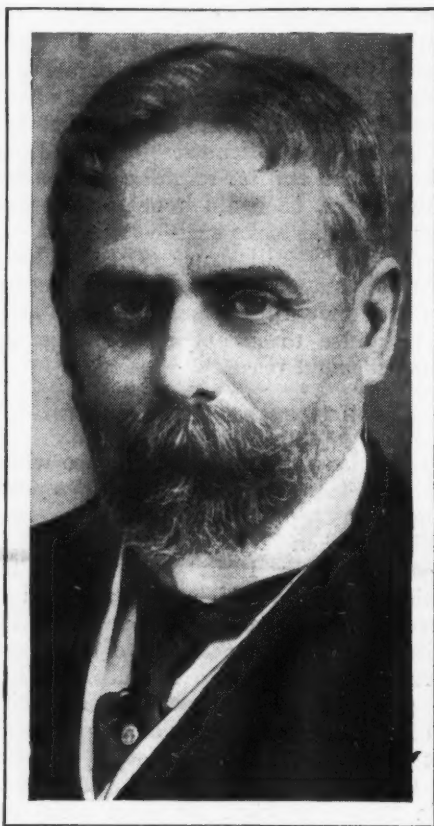
WHAT THE BRITISH ELECTIONS MEAN

By THE RIGHT HON. SIR GILBERT PARKER, P. C.

The eminent author believes that the inauguration of the Bonar Law Cabinet ushers in an era of common sense, stability and economic reconstruction—Personality of the new Premier—The writer sees no menace in Labor's growing power—He predicts that the Foreign Office, crushed under Lloyd George's ascendancy, will be restored to its former power

THE recent elections in Great Britain will have the best possible effect within the confines of that nation and on the world outside. I have not been influenced in reaching this conclusion by the fact that the new Government is made up solely of the political party to which I belong. In numbers, after all, the Conservatives outweighed the Liberal element in the Lloyd George Cabinet. It should be remembered that, including the present Prime Minister, Bonar Law, six of the late Lloyd George's Cabinet are in the present Ministry; Lord Curzon, Stanley Baldwin, Viscount Peel, the Earl of Derby and Sir Arthur Griffith-Boscawen. All of these men were not in office when Lloyd George resigned, but four of them were; and W. C. Bridgeman, L. C. M. S. Amery, Sir Philip Lloyd-Graeme, the Hon. E. F. L. Wood and Sir Robert Sanders, who now hold Cabinet positions, were all in the late Government as Under Secretaries, as were Sir Montagu Barlow, Minister of Pensions; Captain Tryon and others.

As for the number of peers in the new Government, Lord Derby, the Duke of Devonshire and Viscount Peel are as democratic as any ordinary Liberal. The Duke of Devonshire made a successful Governor of the democratic Dominion of Canada, and all the new Ministers are as free from extreme Toryism as have ever been in any Government. Peers today are not reactionary—not those who have responsibility—and the working peers in the House of Lords are those who, belonging to both parties, have labored hard in the



SIR GILBERT PARKER

The well-known novelist, who for eighteen years was a member of the British House of Commons. During the war he was in charge of British publicity in the United States for over two and a half years. He was created a Baronet in 1915 and a Privy Councillor in 1916.

House of Commons, Lord Curzon, the Marquis of Salisbury and Viscount Peel

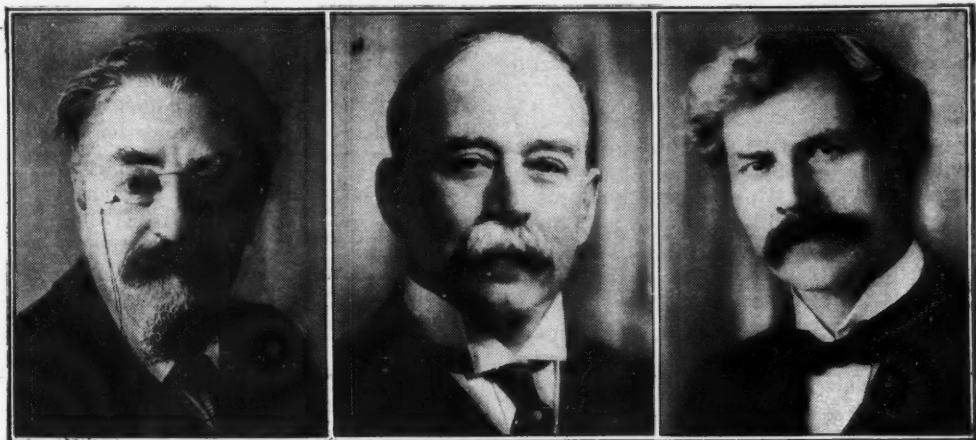
included. Lord Peel's father was one of the best Speakers that the House ever had. England would never approve of a Ministry which was dangerously aristocratic. Bonar Law chose men who had been tried and not found wanting, for Lord Derby had been War Minister and Ambassador under Lloyd George, and the Duke of Devonshire was an old House of Commons whip and is greatly approved by all classes in England. No Government could be aristocratic with such a Premier as Bonar Law.

A coalition Government is a good thing in time of war, when the whole nation and empire is set upon one thing only, to secure victory; but it is fatal in time of peace and should not exist save for a short time after the war is finished—one year at most, to put it tentatively. The truth is, democratic government died in the British Parliament three years ago, and since then there has been a parliamentary autocracy, for formal opposition expired. What would Americans think of a coalition Congress at Washington? What would or could be accomplished by it?

I have had no sympathy with opposition to the idea that a Labor Government might come into power, which is what Austen Chamberlain and his friends feared. England is a democratic country, and if the people want a Labor Government they should have it. I would not wel-

come a Labor Government, which might put a levy on capital, but I would not fear it. There are Labor Governments in Australia and New Zealand, and those countries are, on the whole, well governed. No Labor Minister in the British Parliament—Barnes, Clynes, Roberts, Brace or the rest—has been a failure. This is mainly due to the permanent British Civil Service, which, though it has no initiative, has great knowledge and information; no Minister under this service can act successfully against the expert technical advice of his department.

I do not believe that a capital levy would have been made, but the threat of it largely defeated the Labor Party, though as I expected, it doubled its majority. Bonar Law has a majority of 73 over the main parties in the House of Commons—Labor, and the divided Liberal Party under Mr. Asquith and Lloyd George, respectively; the two latter groups combined, however, are far below the Labor representation. Little separates the Liberals and Conservatives in the House of Commons except the tariff, and yet the tariff in England has been assented to by the Liberals as well as the Conservatives. The present exchange provides a tariff sufficiently high to prevent free trading; it now represents about 10 per cent. against England. That is serious, and it is far more serious in Europe, where ex-



Prominent figures in the new British House of Commons: (At left) Sidney Webb, the Fabian Socialist who has played an important part in building up the Labor Party; (centre) Sir George Younger, head of the Conservative Party organization, whose successful efforts placed the Bonar Law administration in power; (at right) Ramsay MacDonald, once more leader of the Labor Party.

change is so bad. It is no longer a question of grave differences between Conservatives and Liberals; the issue alike in the present and in the future of the British Isles is between Capital and Labor, and all else sinks into insignificance beside that issue. The Irish question, it is clear, is settled, so far as the British Isles are concerned. England now can no more intervene in Southern Ireland than she can in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa or Newfoundland, which all have responsible Governments; she can do so only if Ulster, still under the House of Commons in London, is attacked, and that will not occur.

As for the Irish settlement, a majority of Lloyd George's Cabinet was Conservative; the Conservatives were as united in giving Home Rule as was Lloyd George, and he could not have given it without them. It is well known that Lord Birkenhead, then Lord Chancellor, drafted the Constitution, and he was always one of the most stalwart friends of Ulster, and Austen Chamberlain, who was the leader of the Unionist Party, is the son of the man who left Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal Party on the question of Home Rule. Bonar Law, the most emphatic supporter of Ulster, gave his approval firmly, and all the Conservatives in the Cabinet welcomed the new Irish Government, and declared that Griffith and Collins would keep their word, and so they did. The present Administration of Ireland is as much Conservative as Liberal, so far as the Cabinet is concerned, and all England is satisfied and hopeful.

The Irish settlement does justify the Coalition, and it is the only thing that does, for it was the combined action that did it; though if a Party Government and not a Coalition had been in office, the settlement would also have been granted, and the breadth and wide generosity of the provisions are as much Conservative as Liberal. The South of Ireland has now the independent Government that exists in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Newfoundland, and the risk has been boldly and firmly taken. Doubts exist, as they must, but the wisest minds believe that all is well, or will be well in the end. The settlement could have been secured without Lloyd George, but it was not, and

to him must be given due credit, for he led adroitly, boldly and successfully the forces that gave the new Constitution its being.*

FOREIGN OFFICE REGAINS POWER

What the disappearance of the Lloyd George Government means is not a policy of negation, but among other things a restoration to the Foreign Office of its power, and a re-establishment of the Foreign Minister to his rightful position. It cannot be said that Lord Curzon is a popular man in the British Isles. Even before he went to India as Viceroy, however, he had made his reputation in the House of Commons in foreign affairs, and his adeptness at negotiations is sustained on every hand. When Henri Franklin-Bouillon, the French special envoy to the Nationalist Turks, started for Smyrna not long ago with the proposal for the agreement with Mustapha Kemal, he declared that this proposal was a triumph for common sense, and that Lord Curzon's influence in the negotiations had proved powerful. That is the case, and Bonar Law, a man of essential common sense, solid character and mental poise, has the wisdom to give his Foreign Minister his proper place in the affairs of the empire and the world.

Lloyd George, with his wonderful adroitness, assumed the position of Foreign Minister, and Lord Curzon was, in effect, a nonentity, for all foreign negotiations, except at the Washington conference, were proverbially conducted by the Prime Minister: all that, however, is over now, and the Foreign Office has come back to its

*Regarding the recent appointment of Timothy Healy as Governor General of Ireland, Sir Gilbert Parker, in an interview published in The New York Tribune on Nov. 7, said: "I know Tim Healy well. He used to sit across the aisle from me in the House of Commons. He was the wittiest man the House of Commons ever had. The foe of John Redmond and John Dillon, he and O'Brien had a little party of their own of about four or five men. He is one of the most cultured men in the British Isles, has read greatly, and is a most agreeable and, at the same time, vitriolic man. I predict that he will make the most effective Governor General. The trouble with Ireland today is that the men who want a republic, like De Valera, who is only half Irish and had a Cuban father; that men who worked with Michael Collins and Griffith and Cosgrave and Mulcahy are now playing the part, not of war, but of bandits, robbers, incendiaries and murderers. There's nothing to be said for them at all. While the world stands, England will never give her assent to a republic in Ireland."

proper use and functions. The effect is being seen at Lausanne, and it will be found in France and everywhere. Lord Curzon is a born Foreign Minister, has both intellect and knowledge, and is trusted by most of the British people and by the whole world. He gives himself up to one thing, his department, while Lloyd George, genius as he is, had a hundred differing responsibilities, and was of too volatile a mind to make a powerful Foreign Minister. All of his great international conferences, especially that at Geneva, failed of success. Yet vast credit must be given him. No man can be everything, and he attempted too much. He will come back in time more powerful than ever. Meanwhile the Foreign Office will gain great prestige.

Lloyd George is a political genius, and his rise is the most marvelous thing in the history of the empire. He won his place by sheer ability and force, and he is the greatest Prime Minister in time of war that England has ever had. Since Napoleonic times England has never faced such vast problems as he faced. What is needed now, however, is not genius, but common sense and temperate judgment; not flashes of insight and the sense of war that Lloyd George undoubtedly had and has. I would not trust my own brother with a coalition Government in time of peace, and I am glad Lloyd George has gone. I am sorry, however, that Winston Churchill has been defeated, for he and Lloyd George together are the most powerful and effective critics of the Government that the administration can have, and that is what is needed. If criticism is to be just, it should be alive, active and definite. In point of sheer brilliance of brains, Lloyd George's Government was perhaps superior to that of Bonar Law, being as it was a contribution of both parties; sheer intellectual power and genius are not needed now, however, but stability and steady progress, and that we shall have under Bonar Law.

BONAR LAW A FORCE FOR STABILITY

I know Bonar Law well. He entered Parliament the day I did, and he is as democratic as Lloyd George. He was born on this continent—in New Brunswick, Canada—and his rise, which was not so spec-

tacular as that of Lloyd George, is just as remarkable. He is a Scottish Canadian. I know no better combination than the canny, careful skill of the Scot and the virile, faithful sense of progress of the Canadian. He will have no brilliant exploits, but he will prove that he is what is needed at this stage in England's and the world's history, a man of prescience and steady thought and power. He has no flights of oratory; he never made a phrase that will live, and he lacks the inspired imagination of the platform, but he is one of the most cogent, logical and effective speakers that Parliament ever had, and he is fearless and just.

The Ambassador of the United States to England, Walter Hines Page, whom I knew well from 1892 on, said in one of his letters to his son: "I observe, and the result of my observation is that there is no substitute for common sense in the affairs of the world." Bonar Law is the epitome of common sense, and he and his Government will affect profoundly the affairs of the world at this critical time. I predict that under him the good relations with France will be restored, for he does not change his mind nor bewilder the French by his versatility. I played a game of golf with him once at Walton Heath. He missed the first stroke, but he won the match. He is not a professional golfer, but he can recover from a bad stroke like a great General, and it is that coolness and steady vision that is needed now. In golf he does not take a full swing, but he plays a steady, safe and winning game, and those are the qualities he will show in the immense world game he is playing now.

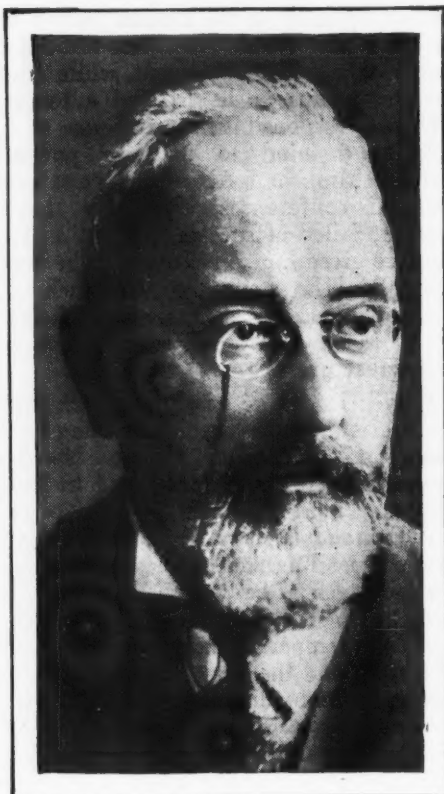
One cannot look far ahead, but it is certain that the confidence of the world will soon be won to the present Government of England, and that Bonar Law will be supported by a united party; all the late members of the Lloyd George Ministry—Austen Chamberlain, Lord Birkenhead, Sir Robert Horne, all able men, and Birkenhead as distinguished intellectually as any man in British politics in a generation—will be supporters of Bonar Law. They supported Lloyd George because of their anxiety concerning the Labor Party, but I will add, not because of that alone; the surprising hesitation that good men have to lose office when once they have it must

have been a factor, hidden in their support of Lloyd George. I said at Michigan University two days before Lloyd George resigned that I hoped he would resign, and, paying him the highest tribute that I could, I added that, much as I liked him and admired him, personal feeling should not affect one's political judgment, and it had not affected mine.

RAMSAY MACDONALD TO LEAD LABOR

As for the Labor Party, I am glad that Ramsay MacDonald is the leader of it. He is a man of big brain, is wholly independent in his feeling, and has accepted no honor and no office, and he will dominate the Labor Party. He has the culture of a college man and the personal charm of a man of the world; mentally and intellectually he towers a full head and shoulders above any other Labor leader except Sidney Webb, who has just entered Parliament, but who has guided the Labor Party intellectually for many years. That is what is needed in the Labor Party—culture and good judgment; and neither Ramsay MacDonald nor Sidney Webb is an extremist of the type of which the worst can be feared. As for the defeated leader, Arthur Henderson, I spoke against him in his first election in 1903, supporting the Conservative candidate whom he defeated; and I said in an interview after that election that the Labor representation would increase in power and numbers in Parliament. It has so steadily increased, till today it represents 138 members, while Lloyd George (National Liberals) represents 57, Mr. Asquith (Liberals) 60, and Bonar Law (Unionists) 344. Bonar Law's majority over *all* parties, as previously stated, is 73. There are 3 Independent Unionists, 5 Independents, 4 Co-operatives, 2 Nationalists, 1 Communist and 1 Sinn Feiner. The one Communist in the House of Commons does not matter; the ritual and procedure of the House of Commons overcome in the end all attacks upon the institution, and the Labor members—Keir Hardie and John Burns, the most extreme at one time—became the greatest sticklers for the procedure of the House. It must be remembered how the British workingman recruited in the late war. Before conscription was imposed 4,500,000 men came

to the colors, which of a population of 45,000,000, including Ireland, exceeds the normal percentage of recruiting by 1 per cent.



(Wide World Photos)

TIMOTHY HEALY

First Governor General of the Irish Free State

I do not think Great Britain will ever become communistic, anarchic, or even republican. If Great Britain became a republic, the empire would at once cease to be. The overseas dominions would never cohere to an empire which changed its ruler every four years. The only real official power the King of England has is to send Governors to the dominions and to summon new Governments into existence, but he has an immense personal influence as the permanent element in the State, and when the overseas dominions fought in the late war they did not fight for the people of England, but for the Crown. It has never been for them King George,

or King Edward, or Queen Victoria, but that which symbolized their Constitution since the time of Magna Charta. In every country, even in the United States, there are dissident citizens, but the mass of the people are right, and the mass of the people are right in Great Britain.

THE FUTURE PROSPECT

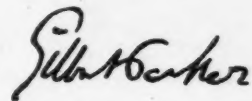
I would fight hard to keep the Labor Party out of power in Great Britain, but they will gain the Government some day, and, with such men as Ramsay MacDonald, Clynes, Roberts, Thomas and Barnes in it, I would have no real fear of it; but I infinitely prefer a Conservative or Liberal Government, and would fight to the last trench to secure it.

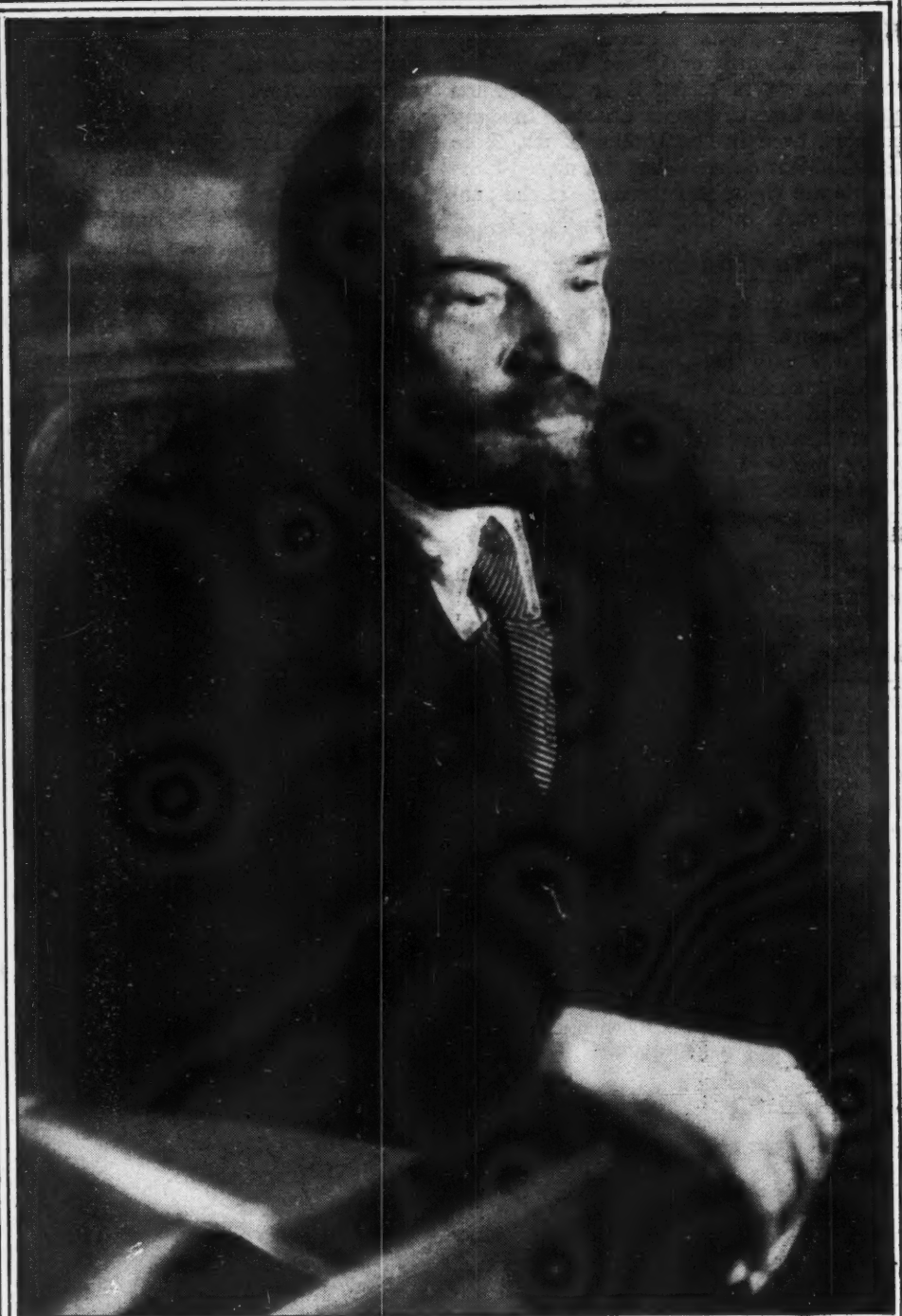
As for Lloyd George, nothing can put him out of public life, and he may again be Prime Minister; his day is not over, but it is over for the present. Bonar Law and his Government, which Lloyd George described as a "yawn," has come to stay, and when it ceases "yawning," the world, I believe, will be on its way to prosperity and progress once again.

I like the look of things at Lausanne. The Turks will never again control the Straits of the Dardanelles, and the allied nations will not yield on the capitulations. Once again the United States is playing a great, though unofficial, part, and Lord

Curzon is showing his remarkable ability as a negotiator.

What England needs is restored trade. There are 1,500,000 unemployed, and there will be 2,000,000 this Winter; and the unemployed are "doled." When this Near East question is settled, trade will begin to revive; but not unless the United States takes a hand in restoring the finances of Europe. I would not agree to the cancellation of debts, and Bonar Law has in effect repudiated the Lord Balfour note, which was a mistake. The world can pay its debts if it is given time, and the United States will give time, and that is what is needed. On the whole, this country and the world may trust Bonar Law and his Government, for they are anxious to restore the trade of the British Empire and general peace. Trade is the bridge between all nations, and Bonar Law will build the bridge which will reduce our taxes and public expenditures and hasten the world's restoration. Much will be required to move his Government, yet it can be turned out in a day if it ceases to hold the confidence of the country. That is one of the signs of England's democracy.





(International.)

NIKOLAI LENIN

Leader of the Russian Communists, who has been head of the Soviet Government since November, 1917

FIVE YEARS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

By NIKOLAI LENIN

President of the Council of People's Commissaries of the Socialist Federated Soviet Republic of Russia

The main thesis of the Soviet leader the necessity for the change from pure State socialism to a limited form of State Capitalism—A striking review of five years of Soviet administration of Russia—Large-scale industry, financial reform, education and study the requirements

COMRADES, I am on the roster as the chief speaker, but you will understand that after my protracted illness I cannot make a long speech. My subject, "Five Years of the Russian Revolution and the Outlook of the World Revolution," is too vast to be exhausted by one speaker in a single speech. That is why I select but one insignificant portion of the subject, namely, the problem of the new economic policy. I purposely choose this phase of the situation in order to acquaint you with this very important problem—important at least to me, inasmuch as I am now at work on it.

To tell you of how we came to inaugurate the new economic policy, I must first of all refer to an article which I wrote in 1918. Discussing the problem of our attitude toward State capitalism, I

wrote: "State capitalism would be a step forward, considering the economic conditions prevailing in our Soviet Republic. If State capitalism were to be established in our country in, say, six months, it would be a great triumph, as well as the surest guarantee that in a year we shall witness the definite victory of socialism."

A VERBATIM report of the address delivered on Nov. 13, 1922, before the Eighth Session of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International at Moscow, being the first official utterance by Lenin since he was stricken in the Spring of 1922. The speaker was greeted with thunderous applause by the assembled delegates, representing the Communist movement in every country of Europe and Asia, including even white and colored representatives of the United States. As a compliment to the Soviet leader, the entire audience rose when he came upon the stage, and sang the "International." On the dais of the Kremlin throne room, where imperial majesty once sat in golden pomp, crowned with diamonds and robed in ermine, stood Lenin, inheritor of all the power of the late Czar—a plain, unimposing figure dressed in a sack suit—and without grandiloquent phrases or metaphors, gave account of five years of his administration of power. Simply and frankly he admitted the past mistakes of internal policy, explained the motives for Russia's reversion to a form of State capitalism, and reviewed the whole Russian situation to the present, concluding with a brief discussion of the future outlook of the Russian revolution. The closing words of this authoritative and illuminating address were followed by a storm of enthusiasm. A later speech made by Lenin on Nov. 20 before a mass meeting held in the Moscow Grand Opera House followed essentially the same lines of exposition.

Thus in 1918 I held the opinion that under the circumstances then prevailing State capitalism was an advance. That sounds like a strange and perhaps absurd statement, for already in those days our republic was a socialistic republic. Precisely then, however, we were hastily, perhaps too hastily, adopting various economic measures which cannot be termed anything but socialistic. Even then, however, I believe that State capitalism meant an advance over the economic

system under which the Soviet Republic existed in those days. To explain my view I simply enumerated the basic elements of our economy: (1) The patriarchal, i. e., the most primitive form of agriculture; (2) small mercantile production (the majority of the peasants who trade in grain belong here); (3) private capitalism; (4) State capitalism; and (5) socialism.

All these elements were then represented in Russia. I set myself the task of finding out what was the mutual relationship of these elements, and also whether one of the non-socialistic elements, notably State capitalism, was not more valuable than socialism itself. I repeat: It appears odd that a non-socialistic scheme of things should be valued higher than socialism in a republic calling itself socialistic. You will cease to be perplexed, however, if you remember that we were fully aware of the fact that Russia's economic system was not a homogeneous and highly developed whole, that it held the socialistic form as well as the most primitive form of agriculture.

What rôle can State capitalism play in such a setting? I asked myself. I asked myself further: Which one of these economic elements is prevalent? It was clear to me then that the petty-bourgeois element prevailed; I could take no other view of the situation. My answer to the first question, therefore, was as follows: Although State capitalism is not a socialistic form, for us in Russia it is a more favorable one than the form now prevailing. Thus we did not overestimate either the beginnings or the foundations of socialistic economy, although we had already effected the social revolution. Even as early as this, we felt to a certain degree that it would have been better for us if we had first arrived at State capitalism and only afterward arrived at socialism.

I must particularly emphasize this matter, because I believe that it will materially assist us, first, to explain the nature of the present economic policy, and, second, to draw important practical conclusions for the Communist International. I do not mean to say that we had so early a completed plan of retreat; far from it. Those brief polemical lines were not by any means a plan of retreat. There was

no reference yet to freedom of commerce, a point of the highest importance to State capitalism. And yet the general, vague idea of retreat was suggested. I believe that this matter of retreat merits attention not only from the standpoint of Russia, which is still a backward country, but also from that of the Communist International and the advanced Western countries. It is a matter of practical importance that all parties which are preparing to attack capitalism in the near future should give the subject their utmost attention. This is one of the most useful lessons which the experience of our revolution can teach us.

THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY

Let me now pass to the results of our new economic policy. I repeat: in those days it was a very vague idea, but in 1921, after we had gone through the most important stages of the civil war unscathed, we met what was in my opinion the most difficult internal political crisis in our recent history. This crisis brought forth the discontent not only of a considerable portion of the peasantry, but also of the workers. For the first, and, I hope, the last time in the history of Soviet Russia, the broad masses of the peasantry were against us; not consciously, but instinctively.

What occasioned that very unpleasant situation? It was this: in our economic attack we ventured too far afield without having a sufficiently secure base. The masses grasped instinctively what we were still unable to formulate consciously, but what we acknowledged several weeks later, namely, that the immediate transition to a purely socialistic scheme of things, a purely socialistic form of distribution was beyond our powers, and that if we were not in a position to retreat and content ourselves with less strenuous tasks, we are threatened by destruction.

The crisis began, it seems to me, in February, 1921. As early as the Spring of the same year we decided unanimously—I did not notice any serious disagreements on the subject—to adopt the new economic policy. I believe that now, after the lapse of a year and a half, we are already in a position to draw several comparisons. What did we go through during that pe-

riod? What are the results? Has the retreat been useful to us, and has it really saved us, or is it too soon to speak of any definite results? These are the main questions we can ask ourselves. In my opinion this question of our success is of the utmost importance to all communist parties, for if the answer is negative then everything is doomed to destruction. I believe that with a clear conscience we can answer that question in the affirmative, namely, to the effect that the past eighteen months have shown with absolute certainty that we have stood the test. Let me pass to the proofs. I must briefly touch upon all the component parts of our economic system.

Finance: Let me first of all deal with our financial system and the notorious Russian ruble. I think that the Russian ruble is really notorious because the number of these rubles now exceeds a quadrillion. This is an astronomic figure, and I am sure that not everybody here knows what it means. But we do not consider these figures too important, and in this we are upheld by the science of economics. Zeros may be crossed out, and we have already learned that the art of doing this is a rather insignificant one. What is really important, however, is the problem of the stabilization of the ruble. Our best men are now coping with this problem, to which we ascribe a decisive economic importance. If we succeed in effecting the stabilization of the ruble for an extended period of time and in the end permanently, we shall win out. Then all these astronomic figures, all these trillions and quadrillions, will mean nothing, and our economic system will have a firm foundation. I can cite here quite important and decisive facts. In 1921 the period of the stabilization of the rate of exchange of the paper ruble lasted less than three months. In the current year of 1922 this period lasted over five months. This, I believe, is proof enough. It would be insufficient if you demanded from us scientific evidence that in future we shall solve this problem completely. Such proof is, in my opinion, impossible at this time. The figures which I gave you show that since last year, when we inaugurated the new economic policy, we have learned to make

progress. And if that is so, I am sure that in future we shall make further progress in this direction, provided we do not commit any egregious blunder.

Commerce: The most important thing, however, is commerce, notably the exchange of commodities which we need so much. But we have somehow managed to take care of it in the last two years, in spite of the fact that we were at war (as you know, Vladivostok was occupied only several weeks ago), and are only now able to carry on our economic activities without interruption. With the raising of the period of stabilization from three to five months, I believe that we have ample ground to say that we are satisfied. We stand alone; we have not received a single loan from any of those powerful capitalistic States which are so "brilliantly" carrying on their capitalistic activities. By means of the Peace of Versailles they have created a financial system of which they are unable to make head or tail. If that is how these great capitalistic States are getting on, I believe that we, backward and uneducated as we are, can be satisfied with the way we stabilized the ruble. This is proved not by theoretical analysis, but in practice, and practice, I consider, is more important than all theoretical discussions. Practice shows that here we have obtained decisive results, namely, we are beginning to adapt our economy to a stable ruble. This is of the greatest importance for commerce and the free exchange of commodities, for the peasants and the great mass of small producers.

Social Aims: I shall now deal with our social aims. The peasantry is the main concern. In 1921 we were undoubtedly facing the discontent of an overwhelming portion of this group. Then came the famine. It meant a most trying ordeal for the peasants. Naturally enough, the whole outside world raised the cry: "Look, this is the result of socialistic economics!" It was equally natural that the outside world did not say a word about the fact that the famine was in reality the monstrous result of the civil war. The landowners and capitalists who attacked us in 1918 created the impression that the famine was nothing but the result of the socialistic system.

The famine was indeed a great and serious calamity, which threatened to undo our entire achievements along the lines of organization and revolution. What is the situation at present, I ask, after this unprecedented and unexpected disaster has occurred and after we have adopted the new economic policy and granted the peasants freedom of trade? The answer is clear. In the course of one year the peasants have mastered the famine situation. Furthermore, they have paid up the food tax, so that we have collected millions of poods of grain, and that practically without using coercion. The peasant uprisings, which before 1921 determined, so to speak, the general character of the Russian situation, have almost completely ceased. We can confidently assert now that the peasantry is content with its present condition. We believe that these facts are more important than any statistics. That the peasantry is the decisive factor in our country no one doubts. The condition of the peasants is now such that we do not have to fear any hostile movement on their part. We say this with the full consciousness of the import of the words, and without exaggeration. This is an achievement. The peasantry may dislike this or that side of the work of our Government, and complain against it. This is possible, and indeed inevitable, for our governmental apparatus and our State economy are far from running smoothly. But any serious discontent with us on the part of the peasantry is in any event absolutely out of the question. This we have achieved in the course of one single year. I think this is a great deal.

Industry: Let me now deal with our industry. We must distinguish two kinds of industry, "light" and "heavy," for their condition is different. As regards light industry, I can say with assurance that here a general improvement is noticeable. I shall not enter into details; it is not my intention to cite statistical data. This general impression, however, is based upon facts, and I can assure you that there is nothing either approximate or misleading about it. We are witnessing a general improvement of light industry, and in connection with it a definite betterment of

the condition of the workmen both in Petrograd and in Moscow. In the other regions the amelioration is less pronounced because there heavy industry prevails, so that we must not make hasty generalizations. At any rate, I repeat: the improvement in light industry and in the condition of the working population of the two capitals is beyond a doubt. In the Spring of 1921 discontent prevailed among the workers of both cities. This has at present entirely subsided. We who from day to day follow the condition and the frame of mind of the workmen cannot go wrong in this matter.

The condition of the "heavy" industry is different. Here, I must say, the situation has not cleared up. A change did take place in 1921. We may, therefore, hope that an improvement will occur in the near future. We have already collected a part of the funds which are necessary to effect such an improvement. In a capitalistic country a loan of hundreds of millions would be imperative to carry it out. The economic history of capitalistic States shows that only large loans in gold coin can assist in the development of heavy industry in a backward country. We have obtained no loans at all.

Whatever is now written about concessions is negligible. Lately we have written a great deal on that subject and especially on the Urquhart concession. Nevertheless, I believe that our concession policy is a very good one. Still, so far no concessions have actually materialized. I beg you not to forget that.

Thus the condition of heavy industry is unsatisfactory, for we have not been able to count upon loans. At the same time our commercial activities have already yielded us a modest capital. It is still a very modest sum, somewhat exceeding 20,000,000 rubles in gold. In any event, the beginning has been made, and our commerce will furnish us the means necessary to improve our heavy industry. The decisive factor here is the circumstance that we are already in a position to save. True, this is often done at the expense of the population, but it is imperative for us at the present moment to economize and to reduce our State budget, our State appa-

ratus. We are now economizing on everything, even on schools. Why? Because we know that if we do not save and restore our heavy industry we shall have no industry at all, and without it we shall not be able to exist as an independent country.

We know that a good crop alone will not save Russia. Nor shall we be saved by the prosperous condition of light industry, which furnishes commodities for the present. What we require is heavy industry. To improve it several years are needed. State subsidies are required. If we cannot furnish these subsidies, we are lost as a civilized State, let alone as a socialistic State. We have taken a decisive step in this direction, namely, we have begun to accumulate the funds necessary to set our heavy industry on its feet. So far we have only over 20,000,000 rubles in gold at our disposal, but we shall spend this sum exclusively upon the improvement of our heavy industry.

From this brief survey of the chief elements of our national economy I may draw the conclusion, it seems to me, that the new economic policy has already resulted in a gain. We have the proof that as a State we can carry on commerce to maintain the strong positions of agriculture and industry, and at the same time make further advance. Practice has proved this. For the present this is enough for us. We shall have to learn a great many others things. We know that we must constantly be studying.

THE SOVIET'S STRATEGIC POSITION

For five years now we have been holding the power, although during all this time we have been at war. We have been successful for the reason that the peasantry has been siding with us. No one could have been more devoted to our cause than the peasants have been. They understand that behind the Whites stand the landed gentry, whom they hate more than anybody else on earth. It was not difficult to induce the peasantry, which previously hated war, to defend us in the war against the Whites, the landowners. But that was not all, for, as a matter of fact, it was a question of who should hold the power:

the peasants or landowners. This did not satisfy us. The peasants understand that we seized power for the workmen, and that our purpose is to create a socialistic order by this means. The most important thing for us was the economic preparation of a socialistic régime. We could not do this by taking a straight road to socialism, and so we were forced to take a roundabout way. State capitalism, as we have inaugurated it, is a peculiar form of State capitalism. It does not fit the usual concept of that system. We hold all the strategic positions. We have the land; it belongs to the State. This is a matter of great importance, although our adversaries choose to represent the situation as though it mean nothing at all. The fact that the land belongs to the State is exceedingly important from a practical and economic standpoint. This is our achievement, and our future activities must develop along those lines.

We also have in our hands the most important industries. We have leased only a portion of the small and medium-sized industrial establishments. The rest is in our hands. As regards commerce, I wish to emphasize the fact that we are endeavoring to establish mixed corporations, part of the capital of which is owned by us, the rest belonging to private financiers, and foreigners at that. In this way we are learning the business of commerce and gaining the sort of knowledge which we sorely need. Furthermore, we shall always be able, should we find it necessary, to liquidate the corporation, so that we are not running any risks. We are trying to learn from private entrepreneurs how to trade and develop industries. Of course, we have done a great many stupid things. No one knows this better than I. Why do we do stupid things? First of all, because we are a backward country; second, because we are uneducated, and, third, because we have no outside help. Not a single civilized State is helping us. On the contrary, they are all working against us.

Then, again, our governmental apparatus is to blame. Our misfortune is that we have taken over the old State machinery. This machinery very often works against us. In 1917, just after we had

seized power, the Government personnel indulged in sabotage against us. That frightened us and we begged the old functionaries to come back to us. They came back, and that was our misfortune. We have now an enormous number of clerks, but we do not have enough educated men to manage them efficiently. Higher up, the Government machinery is functioning somehow, but in the lower ranks, where the personnel was left without our control, the machinery often works against our own measures. At the top we have several thousands or, at the most, several tens of thousands of our own people—that is, Communists. Below, however, there are hundreds of thousands of old functionaries bequeathed to us by the Czar and the bourgeois society, who either consciously or unconsciously work against us. Only time can remedy matters here. We shall have to labor for years in order to change and improve the machinery, and to find new men to fill the positions. We are doing it rapidly, perhaps too rapidly. We are opening Soviet schools, workmen's colleges, and so forth. Several hundreds of thousands of young men are studying. Perhaps their studies are not sufficiently thorough, but at any rate the work has been started, and it will no doubt bear its fruits. If we are not too hasty we shall in a few years have a large number of young men able to make a radical change in our State machinery.

I said that we have to our discredit many stupidities. I must say a word also about our enemies. They, too, have done a great many foolish things, but *their* stupidities are of a different nature. We have barely begun to study, but our studies are so systematic that we are certain that we shall obtain good results. To draw a comparison between our own stupidities and those of our capitalist enemies, I shall paraphrase the words of a famous Russian writer: "When the Bolsheviks do something foolish, it is as though they said: 'Two times two is five.' But if their enemies do a stupid thing, it is as though they said, 'Two times two is a candle.'"

You do not have to go far for proof. Take, for instance, the pact with Kolchak entered into by America, England, France, Japan. I ask you: Are there any more en-

lightened and powerful States in the world? And what did they do? Blindly and thoughtlessly they promised Kolchak assistance. From the standpoint of human reason this is an incomprehensible act. The Peace of Versailles is another example, a weightier and much more important one. How could the "great" and "glorious" powers have perpetrated it? How can they now find a way out of the chaos and confusion created by it? It is not an exaggeration to say that our stupidities are nothing in comparison with the foolish things which the capitalistic States are doing. That is why I believe that the outlook of the world revolution, a subject upon which I must briefly touch, is favorable. It will be even more favorable, if we fulfill a certain condition.

EXPERIENCE OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

In 1921 the Third Congress of the International adopted a resolution dealing with the organization of Communist parties and with the substance and method of their work. It is an excellent resolution, but it is Russian through and through; that is, it is dictated by Russian conditions and permeated with the Russian spirit. Should some exceptional foreigner master the meaning of the resolution he will find himself incapable of carrying it out. We have failed to understand how to present our Russian experience to foreigners. The contents of the resolution have remained a dead letter. Before we can go on we must grasp that.

The most important lesson that the five years of the Russian revolution have taught us is that both the Russian and the foreign comrades must study and learn. We have just obtained the opportunity for study. I do not know how long this possibility will last; I do not know how long the capitalistic States will let us study; but every moment snatched from the fighting activities, from war, we must utilize for the purpose of study. This is our main task. The whole Communist Party, as well as the rest of Russia, show that they understand this by their eagerness to study and learn.

This is also the task of the foreign comrades, though in a different sense, for, unlike us, the foreigners do not need to learn

how to write and read and understand what they read. They need something less elementary. For example, they must learn to understand the resolution relating to the organization of Communistic Parties, which they signed without reading and without understanding. That must be their first task. That resolution must be carried out. It is absolutely impossible to do this overnight. The resolution is too Russian, reflecting, as it does, Russian experience. That is why it is incomprehensible to foreigners, who cannot be content to hang it up in the corner, like an icon, and say their prayers before it. Our foreign comrades must assimilate a part of

the Russian experience. We Russians must try to explain to the foreigners the principles of this revolution. Otherwise they will be unable to carry it out. I am convinced that we must say not only to our Russian, but also to our foreign, comrades that the coming years are above all a time for study. We are studying in the general sense of the word. As for you, you must study in the special sense of the word. You must learn the organization, the planning, the method, and the substance of revolutionary work. If you do so, then, I am convinced, the outlook of the world revolution will be not good, but excellent.

POLAND'S RUSSIAN REFUGEE PROBLEM

THE geographical situation of Poland, immediate neighbor both of Russia and of the Ukraine, was one of the causes of the invasion of the country by large numbers of refugees coming from the east. The desperate state of affairs in Russia since the establishment of Soviet rule led to a movement of emigration toward Poland. The dangers of this movement were at first comparatively slight, and the Polish Government consequently adopted a benevolent attitude, influenced partly by sympathy with fellow-Slavs, who, like Poland's sons under former Russian rule in Poland, were political exiles, and partly because it believed that their presence in Poland would be largely temporary. The course of events, however, has not confirmed this expectation, and the migration of whole populations due to famine conditions has become to Poland a serious economic, if not a political, menace.

This was brought out by the memorandum presented to the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva by M. Tytus Filipowicz, President of the Interministerial Commission for Russian Relief. The situation therein depicted shows two distinct categories of unfortunates: (1) The political refugees, vic-

tims of persecution at the hands of the Bolshevik authorities, and (2) the refugees seeking an improvement in living conditions. Political refugees were allowed to remain indefinitely, provided their presence did not represent a danger to the State. Economic refugees were allowed to remain temporarily, pending arrangements for their departure to other countries. The influx of this class became so great that it was restricted after 1921. This was done by Poland in self-defense, as many of these refugees from the Russian interior were in a starving condition, without means of support, and bore with them in innumerable cases the germs of contagious diseases. By the Treaty of Riga Poland is bound not to admit Russians of anti-Soviet proclivities; on the other hand, it must keep out Bolshevik propagandists. In these circumstances Poland found herself compelled to close her eastern frontier to all but strictly political refugees.

The number of refugees is very difficult to estimate, as the results of the last census have not been published. It is certain that the number totals several hundreds of thousands, of which only part are officially registered. In addition, there must be considered some 25,000 Russians and

Ukrainians, formerly combatants in anti-Soviet armies, maintained in internment camps at a cost of more than 500,000,000 Polish marks, or \$125,000, monthly. The whole cost for Poland represents a financial burden far heavier than in the case of the other border countries which are similarly afflicted, and one that it ought not to have to bear alone. The representatives of other countries, however, have used every means at their disposal to keep the Russian wave back, and have withheld visas to the passports granted by Poland to these refugees since April, 1921, thus confining the Russians within Poland and taking from them all possibility of departure.

Poland has allowed the organization of

eight Russian and Ukrainian charitable organizations for Russian relief in Poland, and has sanctioned the activities of ten other agencies, American, Jewish, Quaker, and so forth, whose relief work has extended to Russia. The Polish Government has done everything in its power to facilitate these activities at a considerable cost. It has also opened Russian schools and colleges for the refugees at various points. The memorandum presented by M. Filipowicz made a strong plea for the relief of Poland and her Baltic neighbors from this crushing burden of maintaining one and a half million strangers and endangering the economic fabric of these young and struggling States.

RUSSIAN DISARMAMENT PLAN REJECTED BY POLAND

FAILURE has overtaken the attempt to bring about disarmament in Eastern Europe. The conference in Moscow broke up on Dec. 12 on the refusal of the Poles to incorporate the plan of a concrete reduction of forces in a compact of non-aggression and arbitration, which met equally determined Russia's insistence that she would sign no agreement from which such a plan was missing. It was hoped on the previous day that the Poles would be willing to compromise.

They had offered to reduce their army from the present figure of 373,000 to 280,000, a cut of more than 25 per cent. But the Russians reminded them that they

had told the League of Nations last June that their total armed forces were only 294,000.

The Poles took the alternative of declining to discuss concrete disarmament now with the plea that a compact of non-aggression and arbitration would be enough for the present.

The Russians refused, and so the conference terminated, but the Russian spokesman, M. Litvinov, was careful to say the failure did not mean that Russia harbored hostile intentions toward her neighbors or that she would fail to continue her own army reductions as far as possible. (See Russia.)

THE TIDE THAT SWEEPED ITALY'S FASCISTI TO POWER

By ARNALDO CORTESI

Fascismo due to intolerable reign of terror by Italian Communists and Anarchists following the war—Public indignation crystallized by Benito Mussolini, Italian Socialist and super-patriot—Destruction of subversive movement deflected to reforming and strengthening the State

THE Fascisti movement in Italy is now confronted with the crucial test of its existence. It is the undisputed master and has the opportunity, which it has striven so long to obtain, of contributing constructively to the building of a new Italy. If it realizes the high hopes which have been placed in it by all classes of Italians, it will have justified its past actions and its continuance as a political entity; if it fails it will forfeit a large measure of the support it now enjoys, and will die a natural death.

In order thoroughly to understand the present situation, it is necessary to follow this unique movement from its birth, to review the causes and conditions which rendered it necessary, and to inquire into the results it has already obtained.

Immediately after the war, which the Italian army had fought with so much bravery and devotion, a most extraordinary wave of anarchism swept over Italy. Subversive orators were allowed, openly and unmolested, to incite the population to revolt, to kill and to destroy, in order to "break the yoke of the bourgeoisie." In November, 1919, the Communist Deputy Bombacci was able to declare to a vast and cheering throng in the public squares of Bologna that in not more than a month Italy would imitate the example of Russia by celebrating the triumph of revolution. Revolutionary newspapers exalted traitors and deserters in the late war who walked the streets in freedom in virtue of Premier Nitti's amnesty. Offensive pictures of the King and of the army were distributed in the streets and pasted on the walls. When the victorious army wished to march in triumph through Rome, Premier Nitti forbade it, yielding to the threats of the

Socialists and Communists, and ordered the triumphal arches, which had been made ready, to be destroyed. When the King inaugurated the twenty-fifth Legislature, the Socialists and Communists left the House with threatening gestures and cries. For two whole years the subversives were absolute and unchallenged masters of Italy. In certain cities they took complete possession of the Government, levying taxes and dispossessing landlords, performing marriages and granting divorces in defiance of the law, passing their own laws and enforcing them with their own police. If any one wearing the King's uniform, whether policeman, soldier or officer, dared to enter a train, the railroad men would order him to get off immediately and would refuse to proceed till he had obeyed. The men who had been decorated for bravery at the front were spat at in the streets and had their ribbons torn from off their chests; they were unable to defend themselves, for orders had been sent out from the Ministry of War that officers and soldiers should go unarmed. Even in Rome, which throughout this time was perhaps the quietest of Italian cities, people were killed in the streets for crying "Long live Italy!" Landlords and peasants were forced to pay heavy contributions to subversive organizations, under the threat of having their crops burned.

Such were the conditions only three short years ago. Italy was in a state of chaos, she was heading straight for revolution, and there seemed to be no power on earth that could stop her. What must be borne well in mind, however, is that all these excesses, all these murders, all these intimidations, all this talk of revolution, were the work of a slender minority in the

country. A few resolute revolutionaries were imposing their will upon the great mass of the population by violence. They had two important factors militating in their favor: first, the Government was thoroughly intimidated by them and dared not oppose them in any way and, second, they were well organized, while their opponents were not.

Bad as this state of affairs was, it was rendered even worse by the inaction of the Government. Cabinet after Cabinet went to power and calmly stood by while the revolutionaries burned, murdered and pillaged, occupied factories and seized estates, trampled upon the national flag and hoisted the red flag in its stead. During all this period, in which energetic action was imperative, the Government did nothing but yield to each and every new Socialist and Communist demand. Gradually the conviction gained strength that it was useless to look to the Government for relief; that if right was to triumph the ordinary citizen must take the law into his own hands. It is perhaps lamentable that such a state of mind should have been engendered, but it was a logical outcome of the situation. The same thing would occur in any nation not entirely lacking in spirit, where the Government has ceased to function, and where the forces of anarchy and revolution are oppressing the law-abiding section of the people.

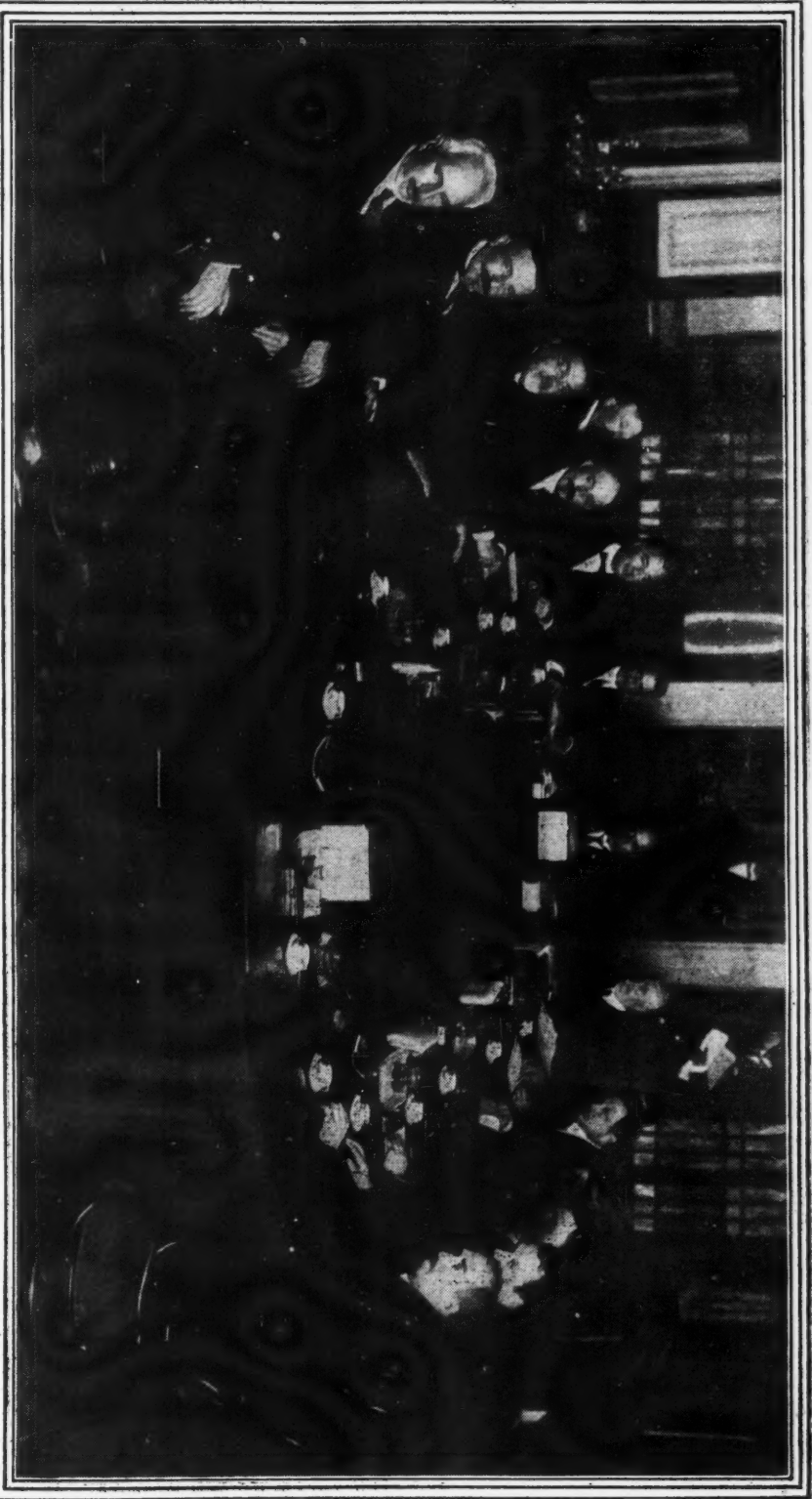
MUSSOLINI'S FIGHT TO SAVE ITALY

Let us return, however, to the days when the Communists were masters of Italy. Amid the darkness of impending revolution there was one ray of light. This ray of light was represented by Signor Benito Mussolini and his newspaper "Il Popolo d'Italia." Signor Mussolini, before the war, was himself a Socialist. More than that, he was the editor of the *Avanti*, the official organ of the most extreme section of the Italian Socialists. When the war broke out, however, he said: "I am a Socialist, but before being a Socialist, I am an Italian. I am against war, but now that my country is at war I know that it is better to win than to lose." He enlisted in the Italian army and fought with bravery and distinction. When peace was declared, he remained aghast at the abyss toward which the preaching of revolution

was dragging his country. He founded his paper in Milan and in its columns, at the cost of infinite sacrifices (he often had to go without a meal because his journal drained all his financial resources) and with great danger to his life, he began to preach the gospel of patriotism. When the subversive press shouted: "We will build barricades in the streets!" he answered: "Go on and build them; but you will find us, the right thinking section of the population, in the streets to dispute your possession of them!" When they cried: "We will start a revolution!" he retorted: "Go ahead and do it * * * if you dare!" Gradually his teachings bore fruit; the healthy and sane elements in the country rallied round him and acclaimed him as their leader. Eventually he felt strong enough to stem—with deeds, rather than words—the advancing tide of Bolshevism. Helped by only about 150 fearless men, the first Fascisti, he descended into the streets and, arms in hand, fought the subversives wherever he could find them.

Progress at first was slow. The Fascisti were outnumbered about one thousand to one, and every time they set out on a punitive expedition many of their numbers did not return, often done to death in the most brutal and barbarous fashion. Then the event occurred which gave Fascismo its first real great impulse, the famous riots of Bologna, which culminated in the cold-blooded murder of Signor Giordani, a famous war hero, in the Council Hall of the Municipal Building. This brutal shooting down of a maimed and defenseless man, who enjoyed the universal respect and admiration of his fellow-citizens, created such a revulsion of feeling in the country that it may be said to mark the birth of Fascismo. Ever since then the movement has been going from victory to victory, constantly gaining in strength, and winning the support or sympathy of large sections of the population.

It is perhaps difficult for the average American, who lives in a country where the laws are generally respected and where retribution is swift against those who do not respect them, to admit the possibility or the necessity of a State within the State, of a militarized organization dealing out rough-and-ready justice outside of legal



The first meeting of the Italian Cabinet presided over by Benito Mussolini, who is shown sitting at the head of the table. From left to right the Ministers are: Di Cesaro (Posts and Telegraphs), Carnazza (Public Works), Gentile (Public Instruction), Tangorra (Treasury), De Capitani (Agriculture), Federzoni (Colonies), Diaz (War), Mussolini (Premier, Foreign Affairs and Interior), De Revel (Navy), Acerbo (Secretary), De Stefani (Finance), Rossi (Industry and Commerce), Cavazzoni (Labor), Oviglio (Justice), Giuriati (Liberated Provinces)

channels. This phenomenon, however, has had its counterpart in almost all countries where the authority of the State has broken down. In America itself the Ku Klux Klan and the Vigilantes were formed for similar reasons and operated in similar ways as the Fascisti. Suppose a law-abiding American was peacefully taking a stroll down Broadway when suddenly a rough-looking individual with a red scarf round his neck and a badge representing a scythe and hammer in his buttonhole confronted him and beat him soundly in the name of the Russian Soviets. What would the law-abiding American do? He would report the matter to the nearest policeman. Suppose the policeman merely shrugged his shoulders and took no further notice, what would he do then? He would probably go and see the Police Commissioner about it, he would write to the newspapers, he would ask his representatives in Congress to take some action, he might appeal to the President. But what would he do if none of these took any notice of him? There would be nothing left for him to do but to "grin and bear it." If, however, on going out the next night he was again beaten by a man with a red scarf round his neck and a Soviet badge in his buttonhole, he would begin to think that he ought to be doing something about it. He might submit to being attacked three, four, five, ten or one hundred times, according to his patience and courage, but the day would eventually come when he would get himself a good heavy club and hit back. If he found that his attackers were so well organized that he could not tackle them alone, he would join with other citizens who had been similarly abused and would attack any one he saw wearing red scarves and Soviet badges. This is exactly what the Fascisti have done in Italy. Up to August of this year the Fascista movement was merely an insurrection of the patriotic part of the population against the violences of the subversive elements, after experience had taught the people that it was no use looking to the Government for protection.

In August, however, the position changed radically. The Socialists, for futile reasons, declared a general strike, which brought the whole country to a

standstill. The Fascisti immediately mobilized all their forces, and Signor Michele Bianchi at Sarzana, before 20,000 fully armed Fascisti, read an ultimatum to the Government stating that, if within 48 hours steps were not taken to get the situation in hand, the Fascisti would do what the Government had shown itself incapable of doing. Exactly two days later, no official action being forthcoming, the Fascisti took matters into their own hands, and in an incredibly short time the strike was over, and all the workers back on their jobs. The method used, it is true, was anything but gentle, but it made up in effectiveness what it lacked in other respects. This victory brought the power of the Fascisti to the highest point it had reached to that date. During August, September and October such immense numbers applied for membership in the Partito Nazionale Fascista that at the beginning of November it counted 500,000 "Squadristi" (members of the militant section of the organization), 1,000,000 "Iscritti" (ordinary members of the Fascista Party, who act as a reserve for the Fascista army) and 2,500,000 workmen belonging to Fascista organizations. August, 1922, may be set down as the date of the death of Bolshevism in Italy.

The death of Bolshevism, however, also meant the end of the very "*raison d'être*" of Fascismo; the disappearance of the danger of revolution rendered unnecessary the military organization which had been created merely to resist such a danger. The Fascisti now turned their attention to politics. They argued that the conditions which obtained three years ago could have been brought about only by the most ardent misgovernment, and that all patriotic Italians ought to take the necessary steps to render their repetition impossible. Also the country was very far from being in a happy situation either financially or economically, and this, according to the Fascisti, was due to bad management. They believed that if they could have a free hand in running the country, they could set matters right by a series of bold and radical reforms. In the full strength of this conviction, Benito Mussolini was swept into power as the culmination of a series of dramatic events narrated in the December CURRENT HISTORY.

In order to be able to push through their reforms in their entirety, the Fascisti have not only to obtain undisputed possession of the Government, but they must also obtain a majority in the Chamber. To obtain this majority in the House the Fascisti are bending all their efforts, but they are confronted with some very grave difficulties. According to the present electoral law, each party is assigned a number of seats proportional to the number of votes it obtained at the elections. This system is excellent from the point of view of fairness, for Parliament accurately reflects the opinions of the country at the time of the elections, but it leads to the lamentable result that no party is strong enough to dominate Parliament and to carry out its program. Government thus degenerates into a series of bargains and compromises, and none of the vital problems is seriously attacked. In the present Parliament, for instance, the two strongest groups are the Socialists and the Catholics, and they dispose of about 120 and 110 seats respectively, out of a

total of 535, which is not nearly enough to carry on a vigorous policy. The Fascisti are now the most powerful party in Italy, but they are not stronger than all the other parties put together; the most they could hope for under the present electoral law would be to capture about 150 seats out of the 535. But they want at least half, or 268. They therefore propose to amend the law in such a way that the party obtaining the largest number of votes would be assigned three-fifths of the total number of seats, the remainder being divided proportionately among the other parties. With this system, if they obtained a majority in the election, they would have 321 seats, as against 214 for all the other parties put together, which would be more than sufficient to make them complete masters of the situation.

PLANS TO STRENGTHEN GOVERNMENT

Let us now see what advantages might accrue to Italy if the Fascisti's proposals were to be realized. The immediate result would be to give the country a strong



Fascisti entering Rome during the bloodless revolution which led to Mussolini becoming virtual dictator of Italy

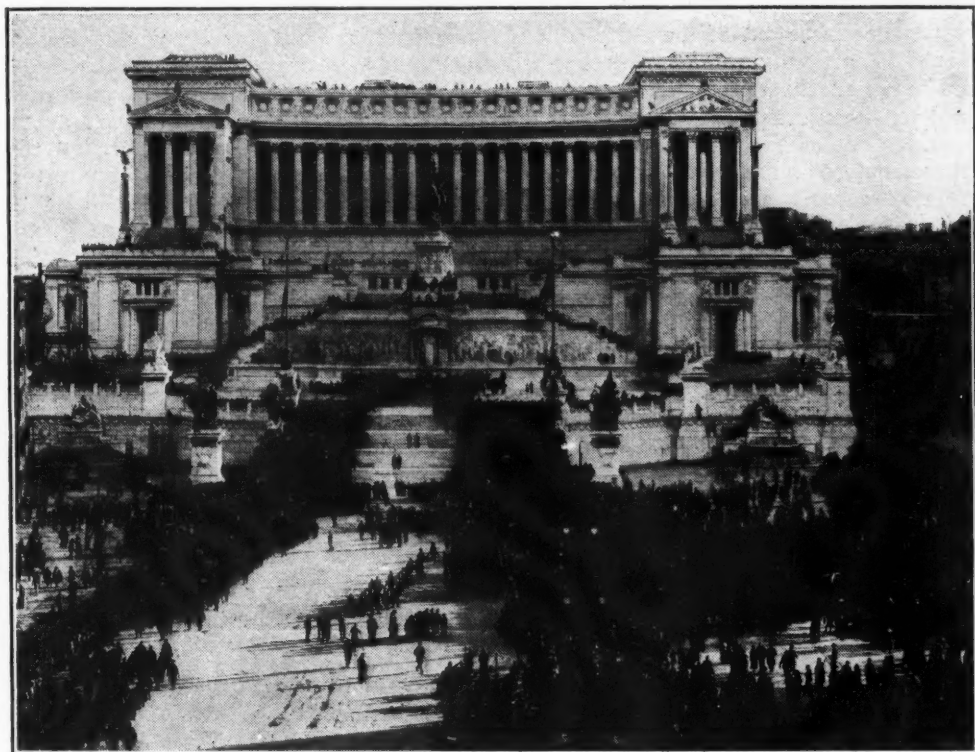
Government, a Government knowing its own mind, and with the strength to carry out its decisions. Every since the war Italy has been governed by Coalition Cabinets, but the parties in the Chamber were so many and so divided that each Cabinet remained in power by only the most slender majority. The result has been that all the Prime Ministers have been completely impotent, not daring to take a decided stand on any question, well knowing that if they made enemies of even but a few of the Deputies, the Cabinet would be defeated at the very next vote of confidence. Cabinet after Cabinet has gone to power, and not even had the strength to enforce respect for the nation's laws and institutions. Each Premier knew that things had got to such a point that to maintain law and order it was necessary to order the police to shoot, should the situation require it. Such an order, however, was never given, because if the police had used their weapons and killed a Communist, the Left Wing of Parliament would have put the Government out of office, while if a Fascista had been killed, the Right Wing would have done exactly the same thing. The result was that the police were given orders never to have recourse to extreme measures, and that every one did exactly what he pleased in defiance of the law. Even a cursory investigation of Italy's chief troubles at the present day would reveal that most of them are due to the lack of a predominant group in the Chamber, permitting a strong Government to be formed.

The advent of the Fascisti, then, would give Italy a strong Government with a definite and clear-cut policy. The Fascista policy is based on the idea that the Italians are just as industrious, just as clever, just as hard-working as any other race, and that they ought, therefore, with proper Government, to be just as prosperous. Its chief article of faith is the principle that the individual has no rights at all if his rights are in conflict with the interests of the nation as a whole. All this may sound rather trite and obvious, but, if applied rigidly, as the Fascisti mean to apply it, it leads to some new theories. The chief of these, perhaps, is a refutation of a man's "right to strike." The Fascisti say that a man has no right

to strike, for strikes are obviously harmful to the nation and anything but just, because it is might, and not right that eventually wins an industrial dispute. Why, then, should the State tolerate a system which, while causing great damage to the nation, leads to an unjust settlement in fifty cases out of one hundred? If the Government were working the way it ought to work it obviously would not tolerate it. It would decide, with the help of a special commission, what the fair solution is, and then impose observance of its decision with every means in its power. The Fascisti are convinced that the Government could break any strike if it really put its strength into it, and that the idea of striking, after a short time, would never enter any one's head when the workmen had found by experience that they invariably got the worst of it when they went against the decisions of the Government. Naturally the Government would be just as strict and energetic in dealing with the givers of labor if it considered that they were in the wrong.

SEVERE DISCIPLINE THE SLOGAN

The most severe discipline is the keynote of the Fascista program. The Fascisti believe that anyone belonging to their organization has only one right—the right of being allowed to do his duty—and that apart from that one right he has nothing but duties. With the help of the hundreds of thousands of men who are now inscribed in their party the Fascisti hope to be able to educate the masses to feel respect for the law, to make them understand that only hard work and strict economy can put Italy back on her feet again, that when they hurt the nation they hurt themselves, that it is necessary to perform any sacrifice whatever to restore the finances of the country. They hope that by imposing severe discipline upon all classes of the population, by contributing the enthusiasm and energy of a new and young party to the Government of the nation, by being, above all things, strong and inflexible, that they will succeed in infusing a totally new spirit in the people, to wake them up to the sad plight in which Italy finds herself, to make them strive and work for better days.



Fascisti assembled before the monument of Victor Emmanuel in Rome, during the stirring days of Mussolini's assumption of power as the real ruler of Italy

The Fascisti leaders realize that the most important problem confronting Italy is her financial situation, and that it is absurd to speak about reforms or of a return to prosperity till the State budget balances. A great number of their proposed reforms are, therefore, directed toward increasing the revenue of the State and limiting expenses. Drastic reduction of Central Government bureaus, alike in expense and personnel; the transfer to private enterprise of postal, telegraph, telephone and railway services; the elimination of all unnecessary provincial bureaus; the elimination of State subsidies to co-operatives and consortiums, and to all steamship lines, except those plying between Italy and her islands and colonies; the elimination of all money grants for public works unless absolutely necessary, and then only on local contribution of half the expense; the suspension of all further railroad construction by the State; the revision of the wage scale in

the public services in such wise as to give incentive to hard work to the employees; the passing of severe legislation penalizing all attempts to avoid the payment of taxes—such, stated in the briefest terms, is the Fascista program. It will be seen that it is anything but demagogic; that it does not hold forth golden visions of reduced taxes and immediate prosperity. On the contrary it promises nothing but sacrifice and hard work. It is symptomatic of the new spirit the Fascisti have infused into the country that the most popular party in Italy is the party which advocates a series of reforms whose immediate object will be to hit most people hard, and to hit them in their most sensitive spot—their pocket-books.

These measures, of course, also come in for their share of criticism. It is pointed out that their immediate effect will be to increase unemployment tremendously, owing to the dismissal of large numbers of Government employes, and the discontinu-

ance of the practice of financing public utility enterprises out of the State coffers. This is undoubtedly true, but the Fascisti are convinced that this effect will be purely a temporary one, and that the general effect of their reforms will be to put the finance and industry of the country on a sound basis, giving such an impulse to industry that in a comparatively short

time all the people who are temporarily thrown out of employment will find useful and remunerative work.

The whole set of reforms the Fascisti advocate are nothing more than an experiment. They may be successful, but they may also fail; and on the success or failure of the reforms depends also the success or failure of the Fascista Party.

BENITO MUSSOLINI—ITALY'S MAN OF DESTINY

By LOUIS D. KORNFIELD

The personality and career of Italy's new Premier—A Socialist and Revolutionist hissed out of the Socialist Party because of his advocacy of Italy's entering the war, he became Revolution's bitterest foe—Why and how he formed his Fascist army, which swept him into power overnight

ITALY has entered upon a new era of its history: the era of Gabriele d'Annunzio in spirit and Benito Mussolini in body. In their revolutionary clamor and seizure of power the Fascisti promised many miracles, most of which, being miracles, will never be achieved. But one or two miracles they already have to their credit. By whatever methods, legal or illegal, it may have been brought about, in Italy today there is order and peace, and in Rome there is a Government of force, discipline and action, dominated by a man whose exalted conception of Italy's destiny renders him a new and not easily resolvable factor in the tangle of European problems.

Benito Mussolini, now virtually Dictator in Italy, is not yet 40. He is a man of powerful physique, half bald, with thick, sullen lips, with eyes downcast, yet grimly observant. His is a face of rude, brooding strength, the face of a man brooding over a great cause or a great ambition; a martyr or a tyrant, a Gracchus or a Caligula. He belongs more to the Rome of the Caesars than to the Rome of the Giolittis. One can imagine him in toga, a Roman consul

who harangues the forum one day and plots a skillful conspiracy the next; always irrepressibly and shrewdly busy. He can be the salvation of Italy or its ruin. However the die may fall, whatever he does will be done on a magnificent scale; in action there is nothing self-conscious or trivial about him. "Either they give us the Government," he cried to the Fascisti at Naples on Oct. 24, "or else we fall upon Rome and take it!" They fell upon Rome and took it.

Mussolini appeared before the King to accept the surrender of the Government, the lower half of him clad in the tailored trousers and spats of a boulevardier and the upper half in the black shirt of a Fascista combatant, with a revolver on the hip. His declaration to the King was brief and epigrammatic: "I beg your Majesty's pardon for coming before you still wearing a black shirt; I've just returned from a battle, fortunately bloodless, which had to be fought. I bring you the Italy of victorious Veneto, consecrated in a new victory, and I am your faithful servant."

The history of Mussolini's sensational rise to power reveals a man who had the courage of his ever-changing convictions. He embarked as a Marxian Socialist, an apostle of revolution, his sails filled with the wind of proletariat doctrine. He became editor of the *Avanti*, a Director of the Italian Socialist Party, a leader of the proletariat movement in Europe. Within party walls he oscillates restlessly between several brands of socialism: those fathered by Marx, Proudhon, Blanqui, Sterner. Like many Socialists, it was only his own particular brand of socialism that he really believed in, but party discipline throttled its expression. In party counsels he manifested a disconcerting affection for his country, an inability to omit Italy, as Italy, from any of his calculations. They perceived at the core of his socialism the germ of patriotism which was destined to destroy him as a Socialist.

Early in 1914 came an ill-fated revolutionary movement in Romagna, which resulted in much sacking, burning and destruction and finally ended in defeat. Mussolini was one of the leaders of the Romagna uprising. The brutality and futility of this movement produced in Mussolini a revulsion against the directors of his party. He became more truculent, more reckless, more uncontrollable.

The outbreak of the European war precipitated the inevitable clash between him and his party. He perceived the apparent causes of the war to be Germany's territorial avarice and the conflict of German and English capitalistic interests. Beneath the apparent causes, however, he perceived the war as a historical necessity, determined by events beyond the control of peoples: a fatality involving the life and future of civilization. In such a conflict Italy could not remain neutral. Mussolini became for his party a traitor to Socialist doctrine, an object of derision and excommunication. In November, 1914, at the Socialist Congress in Milan, he cried defiantly: "I tell you that from this moment I shall never forgive or pity any one who, in this tragic hour, lacks the courage to say what he thinks for fear of being hissed and hooted down." On that day he was hissed and hooted out of the Socialist Party.

Immediately after his expulsion he founded the *Popolo d'Italia*, a journal which at first called itself a "Socialist daily." From the initial issue Mussolini furiously assailed the doctrine of neutrality and advocated immediate intervention in the war. Against him the Socialist and radical press launched a campaign of odium and vilification without parallel in the history of Italian journalism. They were determined to destroy the man both morally and politically. The attention of the country was drawn to his isolation—and to his journal. New friends gathered around him, sympathizing, at first, not so much with his doctrines as with his lone fight against an avalanche of enemies. His battle for intervention against public indifference and Government indecision gained ground every day.

"We must act, move, fight, and, if necessary, die!" he declared, dynamically. "Neutrals have never dominated events; events have always dominated neutrals. Blood alone moves the wheels of history."

THE BAPTISM OF FIRE

The declaration of war found him eager to join the ranks of combatants. The War Office, however, still timorous of his history as a Socialist, was reluctant to admit him to any special category under which he might have gone to the front with the rank of commissioned officer. He was ordered to await the call of his class. He remained at his desk. He consecrated his journal to the army and its cause; his columns flamed each day with the glorification of national sacrifice, strengthening and stimulating the faith of the people in the justice and necessity of the carnage that was going on at the front. His class was finally called. He went to the front as a corporal in the infantry. He passed through fire, was seriously wounded, and decorated by the King. There was no longer any doubt in the sincerity of Mussolini's patriotism.

Discharged from the army for disability, he returned to his editorial task. Then came the Caporetto disaster, precipitated by Socialist propaganda from the rear, and the loss to Italian arms of everything that had been won with an enormous sacri-

fice of life. In his rage against the perpetrators of that calamity, Mussolini flung into the ashes of his past the remaining fragments of his Socialistic creed. His Socialist daily became the Journal of Combatants and Producers; an intensely nationalistic organ, a bitterly relentless enemy of any movement, party, or principle subversive of national aims and national ideals.

From that position, after the victorious conclusion of the war, Mussolini insisted upon a rigorous, uncompromising peace, a peace that would place Italy in full possession of everything she had entered the war to acquire. He was the only publicist in Italy to sustain d'Annunzio in the poet's attack upon President Wilson's "Fourteen Points." Against the entire influence of Wilsonian liberalism Mussolini fought relentlessly. He saw in the Wilsonian doctrine a pernicious sentimentality of which the Italian people could drink only to their own everlasting misfortune; a doctrine conceived in the clouds, based on no tangible conception of European realities, woefully blind to Italy's most vital aims and the sacrifice she had endured to realize those aims. For the submission of his Government to the dictates of the Versailles diplomats he had nothing but loathing and contempt.

THE RISE OF THE RED TIDE

The Wilsonian liberalism, however, was succeeded by a more dangerous infection, the spread of the new disease being facilitated by the enforced idleness and misery of the Italian working classes after the close of the war. Russia became the new ideal. Just as it had responded to Wilson, with uncritical enthusiasm and aspiration, so the undisciplined, volatile, idealistic Italian soul now responded to Lenin. The revolutionary mania raged in the people and in the press. Even the liberal and democratic press saw visions of a millennium in the doctrine of internationalism. "On with the revolution!" was the cry in the masses. The monarchy, the Pope, nationalism, had all served their time. There would be no more wars; hence, down with the navy, down with the army, and away with Trentino, Fiume and all the colonies! Army officers could not

appear on the streets without being hissed, hooted and assailed. They were advised by the Government to render themselves less conspicuous by concealing their identity under civilian dress. This decree has never been forgotten, and lies at the root of many an army officer's secret conversion and affiliation with Fascismo.

Across this nightmare of anti-patriotism Gabriele d'Annunzio called out to the youth of the country in passionate and imploring protest. Mussolini took action. With a handful of young patriots, awakened by the poet's appeal, Mussolini, in Milan, March, 1919, organized the first local Fascio. At that time the Fascista program sounded bombastic and seemed utterly impossible of achievement. The Fascio was to be a revolutionary army, consecrated to the resurrection of national ideas, and to the destruction of all those forces that were draining the Italian people of their vitality and strength as a people. The press of Italy took no notice of the new revolutionary infant. Only in the *Popolo d'Italia* was there to be found any reference to it, Mussolini harping prophetically on the tune: "Some day you'll talk about Fascismo; oh, you'll talk about it."

D'Annunzio followed with his sensational adventure at Fiume; an enterprise which Mussolini hailed and supported to the bitter end, as the revolt of the spirit against the brutalization and degeneration of national ideals. But the Bolshevik tide was rising ever higher. To give political reality to his counter-revolution, Mussolini decided to enter the November elections. He prepared a Fascista ballot. He and his fellow-Fascisti were hopelessly swamped in the socialistic landslide of that year.

In the days that followed his defeat at the polls Mussolini sat in his editorial office with the Reds passing in cheering, menacing columns under his window, shouting: "A morte la borghesia!" "A morte Mussolini!" "Viva la Russia!" ("Death to the bourgeoisie! Death to Mussolini! Long live Russia!") A disciple writes of having one day come upon Mussolini in the following attitude:

He sat before his desk in a modestly furnished room, of which the major piece of decoration was

a wall map of Italy, with a tiny Tricolor pinned on the spot marked Fiume. On his table stood a large glass of milk, which Mussolini stirred, now and then with a spoon; near by, creating a most extraordinary and interesting contrast, lay a large quartermaster's pistol of ancient make. The cries from the street became increasingly menacing; noise of police and the crisp loading of muskets. Mussolini, as he stirred and sipped his milk, remarked: "They are yelling and howling, turning the world upside down with their noise, but under their flags and their banners, they are a herd of imbeciles. And don't think for a moment, that they would dare come up here. They know that if they came after me, I'd get at least two of them with this pistol. And in Milan there are not two of them heroic enough to face danger. Hence * * * I drink milk."

THE FASCISTA ARMIES

Fortunately for Mussolini and his movement, d'Annunzio continued to hold the fort at Fiume. Fiume became a rallying pivot for Fascismo, a living symbol of its faith. In the name of Fiume, Fascisti organizations sprang into being in all parts of the country; the black shirt became the emblem of the new patriotism. Fiume fell, but Fascismo, strengthened by the inspiration of Fiume, pulled itself together for a mighty effort against the Bolshevik tide, which in 1920 was inundating the principal industrial centres of Italy, and Milan especially. Mussolini organized a military command composed of trained ex-army officers. Fascismo became in every sense of the term a government within a government, with Mussolini as dictator and commander, and chief of a militia armed, disciplined and ready for war. The proletariat finally carried out their threat. The workers seized the factories and proclaimed the triumph of the proletariat revolution in Italy. Their triumph, however, was of brief duration, for Mussolini gave Fascismo the order to attack.

The "Black Shirts" enveloped the Bolsheviks like a cyclone, drove the workers out of possession, burned and plundered their newspapers, destroyed their centres of organization and co-operation, waged relentless and furious warfare and restored the bourgeoisie to power. Under the violence of Mussolini's assault the whole proletariat movement rocked, cracked and collapsed. The quelling of the general strike in August, 1922, was the death blow to subversion. The bourgeoisie,

now cured of its easy tolerance of Bolshevism, swept to Mussolini's support, hailed him as Italy's saviour and Fascismo as the gospel of salvation. The streets that once rang with the cries of "Viva Wilson!" and later "Viva Lenin!" now exulted in a new idol: "Viva Mussolini!"

"FASCISMO'S NEW AIM"

With the crushing of the proletariat revolution, Fascismo had achieved its goal. But Mussolini did not disband his movement. Recognizing its potentiality as a political organization, he transferred its activity to the political field. He led Fascismo to the polls and established a Fascist phalanx in Parliament, with himself at the head. The new party became the party of a radical revolutionary right, that fought the radical revolutionary party of the left, eye for eye and tooth for tooth. Into the bourgeois press, Mussolini introduced a violence and ferocity of language which had heretofore characterized only the radical Socialist press; from the extreme right of Parliament, he sent forth such threats of destruction, reprisal and defiance of Government as had emerged before his advent only from the extreme left. Between the two forces, democratic Government became a trembling candle flame, blown and almost extinguished now by a gust of wind from the left and now by a gust of wind from the right.

In the country, Mussolini kept his movement alive by directing its appeal explicitly to the youth of the nation, and rendering Fascismo sensational and attractive by uniforms, bands, parades, and the prediction of imminent danger and eminent opportunity for action. Bolshevism no longer threatened, but Mussolini visualized a new peril in the body of the State itself—a State sick, corrupt, impotent, which needed to be transformed, revitalized, reanimated with the new and young blood of the nation.

His program at first was anti-Catholic and anti-monarchist; he advanced a "republican tendency" as part of the political ideology of Fascismo. But when the "republican tendency" threatened to alienate certain sections of bourgeois support, he

readily renounced his "republican tendency" and became pro-monarchist and pro-Catholic. This renunciation was in fact more in conformance with his true conviction, for he had come to loathe anything that flavored of too much democracy, as he loathed anything that flavored of too much socialism. With the "republican tendency" he whittled away all superfluous doctrine from his creed; simplified it unto a creed of pure, exalted patriotism, uncomplicated and easily assimilated.

Under this creed he continued to enroll the youth of the country into fighting squadrons. He planted his standards in the very ranks of labor, and by interpreting Fascismo as a new syndicalism, a new labor movement, he won an army of converts in the working classes; those not drawn to his banners by conviction were drawn by intimidation. On Oct. 24, when he declared war upon the Government, he had the country so organized behind

him that victory was certain. The events leading up to the dramatic seizure of the Government by Mussolini are known.

Mussolini's government will be marked by strength and firmness, though just where that strength and firmness will finally lead is a matter of lively speculation in Europe today. In an interview with the *Stampa* of Milan, on March 30, Mussolini declared: "At this moment the important thing is to announce clearly and emphatically that today in Italy there exists a State and that we shall see that it is respected with law if possible, and with cannon if necessary." His is a strength and firmness of which the world may well take heed. In the dark forces of history lurks an invisible gambler who trumped the European statesmen in 1917 at Moscow, and who may have trumped them again in 1922 at Rome. Time alone will tell whether Italy has found her Bismarck or her Napoleon in Benito Mussolini.

LAST SURVIVOR OF RIEL'S REBELLION

THE Red River Rebellion in Canada has been recalled by the death at Winnipeg recently of Ambrose D. Lepine, who is believed to have been the last survivor among Louis Riel's followers. Lepine, who was 94 years old when he died, was Riel's adjutant, and is said to have known the burial place of Thomas Scott, who was executed at Old Fort Garry in March, 1870, by Riel's order. Lepine was sentenced to death for his part in the killing of Scott, but was reprieved by the Canadian Government.

When, in 1869, it was arranged to transfer the control of the Hudson Bay Company's lands to the Dominion of Canada, Louis Riel, a half-breed, headed a revolt on the Red River. He and his half-breed followers, who were suspicious of the change of control, captured Fort Garry,

Winnipeg, and set up a "Provisional Government," of which Riel was proclaimed "President." Several times they defeated parties of English-speaking settlers who tried to regain the fort.

Among the prisoners captured by the rebels was a young man named Thomas Scott, who, on account of his defiance of the half-breed leader, was taken outside the fort and shot. The rebels eventually fled on the approach of a punitive force, and Riel later tried to take part in politics, but another attempt to lead a revolt led to his execution.

Riel and his associates never revealed the place where Scott was buried, but a skeleton unearthed by workmen near Winnipeg in February, 1921, was believed by local historians to be that of Scott.

BASIC CAUSES OF THE PRESENT PLIGHT OF FRANCE

By J. ELLIS BARKER

French foreign and domestic policy affected by two grave factors—Stagnation of population and financial burdens cast a dark shadow over France's future—Decline in luxury market, crushing taxation and war damage make France too poor to be prolific

THE character and policy of France are deeply affected by two great troubles which are casting a very dark shadow over the nation, and which strongly affect its foreign and domestic policy. These two troubles are the stagnation of the population and the financial difficulties of the country. Compared with these, all other problems are of minor concern.

During the last two centuries the position of France among the great powers, if measured by population, has changed in the most extraordinary manner. In 1700 there were only three real great powers in the world, namely, France, the German Empire and England. These three great powers had approximately 50,000,000 inhabitants, and of these 20,000,000, or 40 per cent., were French. At that time the United States did not exist, and Russia and Japan did not count. At present there are seven great powers in the world, France, Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom, Russia, the United States and Japan, all of which together have 600,000,000 inhabitants. France, with 40,000,000 people, has only 6.5 per cent. of the population of the great powers. From this calculation both the white and the colored inhabitants of the great British Oversea Empire have been excluded.

The population of Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom, Russia, the United States and Japan is now very rapidly increasing, while that of France may be called absolutely stationary. In South America new great powers are arising, and China may become another and a greater Japan. France has lost the extraordinary pre-eminence among the nations which she has

occupied for centuries, and she is threatened not merely with declining to the rank of a second or third rate power, but with gradual elimination and extinction. That thought fills all patriotic Frenchmen with the greatest concern.

DANGER FROM DECLINING BIRTHS

The extinction of French civilization and of the French language is an abstract idea, a thing which seems incredible to most Frenchmen, although great nations, civilizations and languages of the past have gradually declined and completely disappeared. The stagnation of the population, however, involves a direct and very dangerous threat to France by gradually reducing the numbers available for the defense of the country. While France's population has remained practically stationary for decades, a most important change has taken place in the composition of that population. The advance of sanitation and of the medical sciences has greatly increased the longevity of the people. There are far more old and middle-aged people in France than there were in the past, and as numbers have remained stationary there are fewer young people able to bear arms. The striking change which has taken place during the last few decades and the tremendous danger which that change means for France's future are apparent from the following official figures:

	Population	Male Births
1866	38,080,000	516,000
1876	36,830,000	494,000
1886	38,230,000	466,000
1896	38,520,000	442,000
1906	39,267,000	411,000
1913	39,674,000	382,000

Between 1866 and 1913 France's population increased in round numbers only by 1,600,000. The loss of population arising from the cession of Alsace-Lorraine to Germany of about 1,600,000 was made good in the course of decades, and a trifle was added to the original number of the inhabitants. Though the whole population grew slightly, the number of male births, which determines the number of those able to defend the country, declined rapidly. Measured by the number of male births the potential strength of the French Army in 1913 was 25 per cent. lower than it had been in 1866. Male births, it is true, affect army numbers only twenty years afterward. The argument that more of the newly born males survive now than in the past is unconvincing, because that factor is universally operative. France fears another war with Germany, and not without cause. The Franco-German struggle has gone on for centuries, and there is not yet an end in sight. The prospective difference between the armies of France and Germany may best be visualized, not by comparing population numbers, but by comparing male births in the two countries. In this respect the position in 1913 was as follows:

	Male Births
France	382,000
Germany	975,000

If we assume that mortality rates are equal in the two countries, and that 50 per cent. of the males born will eventually be able to serve in the army, it appears that in 1933 France will be able to raise 191,000 recruits yearly, while Germany within the limits of 1913 will be able to raise no less than 487,500 recruits. Ten yearly levies would yield 1,910,000 soldiers in France and 4,875,000 in Germany. If, however, France's population should continue stagnant in total numbers and declining in the number of the able-bodied young, while Germany's population should continue rapidly increasing—last year Germany's population grew by more than 600,000—ten yearly levies would yield before long not merely two and a half as many soldiers in Germany as in France, but from three to five times as many. This thought has caused France to increase the number of her colored soldiers with the

greatest energy. The French Colonial empire has the advantage of being in the main a compact empire stretching from the North African coast right across the continent to a point five degrees south of the Equator, all within easy reach of France. Some patriotic Frenchmen have even toyed with the idea of admitting colored men to an equality with white Frenchmen, although the fate of Portugal and of the Central and South American States should have taught them the danger of that proceeding.

THE REAL CAUSE ECONOMIC

It is widely believed that the French are for some reason or other a sterile race. That idea is quite mistaken. The most prolific people in the world are apparently Frenchmen, viz., the Frenchmen who were settled in Canada in the time of Louis XIV. In 1763, when Canada fell to England, there were about 60,000 French Canadians. At present their number is considerably greater than 3,000,000. They have increased more than fiftyfold. If the French in France had increased at a similar rate, their number would approximate the present number of inhabitants of the world.

The stagnation of the population of France and the rapid increase of the population in many other countries are due principally, one might almost say exclusively, to economic reasons. France has the reputation of being wealthy and selfish. Frenchmen are supposed to be stagnant in numbers because they wish to have a good time and to spend money on themselves, not on their children. That widely held belief is totally unjustified. France is naturally a poor country. She has a good and varied climate suitable for agriculture, but the bulk of the country is very hilly. She lacks those prolific plains which have created the agricultural wealth of Holland, Germany, Northern Italy, Hungary, Rumania, the United States, Canada and Argentina. Lacking adequate level soil and being subjected to drought, France, like Central and Southern Italy, where conditions are similar, has concentrated upon the production of food luxuries, such as wine, choice fruit, and so forth. The people have worked hard and

intelligently, and they are producing the finest wines, fruit and vegetables in the world. The fact that an infinitesimally small quantity of these products is sold abroad at very high prices has created the delusion that France must be immensely wealthy. Champagne and other high-class French wines are sold at enormous prices all over the world, but the total return yielded is comparatively trifling. The bulk of France's wine is sold in the country at prices far below the cost of beer elsewhere.

Modern industrial production is based upon coal. The prosperity and rapid advance of the United States, Great Britain and Germany are due to the fact that these countries produce about nine-tenths of the world's coal. France has only a trifling quantity of coal. Countries which are poor in coal and raw materials cannot manufacture those masses of goods which vastly increase the wealth of nations which make them. The French had therefore to concentrate their energy upon making goods which require little raw material and much human labor. They had to concentrate upon artistic goods, upon luxury goods, which are made rather by handicraft than by the machine. French silks, dresses, hats, artificial flowers, perfumes and other luxury articles too numerous to mention are celebrated all over the world, and they are sold at exceedingly high prices. Hence casual observers are apt to believe that French industry, like French agriculture, yields fabulous sums to the French people. The number of those, however, who can afford to buy the very expensive hand-made French fashions, porcelain, and so forth, is very small. American corn yields infinitely more wealth than all French luxury crops combined and employs infinitely more labor. Similarly, the making of luxury manufactures for the few yields very little wealth and employs little labor, if compared with one of the modern staple industries.

AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY LOW

The stagnation of France's population is due to the stagnation of her agriculture and manufacturing industries, which stagnation in turn is caused by the insuffi-

ciency of level ground, coal and other raw materials. Possibly France's position may be improved by her having obtained the great iron mines of Lorraine. However, the question is, whether she will be able to secure from Germany or elsewhere, and at reasonable prices, the coal required for smelting the ore and starting huge engineering works. Without sufficient coal at reasonable prices the great iron-ore fields of France will yield little wealth to the country and little employment to French workers.

As France is chiefly hilly and mountainous her rivers are turbulent, railway construction is costly and freight rates are high. Germany is far more favored by her geographical conditions. On the other hand, these turbulent French rivers and the many waterfalls in the mountains may yield millions of hydro-electrical horsepower. The French are harnessing their water powers with the utmost energy in order to develop their industries. It remains to be seen whether that policy will lead to a powerful expansion of manufacturing.

The immediate prospect for French agriculture and industry is depressing. The world has been impoverished by the war. Russia, which used to be a good customer of France, is completely ruined. The United States, which was the largest buyer of French wine luxuries, has introduced prohibition, and other nations may follow suit. The United States and other countries, moreover, have vastly increased their tariffs upon French fashions and other luxuries. The impoverished world demands necessities, not luxuries, and unfortunately France is organized for producing luxuries and cannot easily produce necessities in competition with the United States, Great Britain, Germany and Belgium, which are far more favorably situated owing to the possession of an abundance of cheap coal and to various other reasons which it would lead too far to discuss. France requires from abroad considerable quantities of food and raw materials, and hitherto she has paid for these by exporting luxuries. During the war and since the armistice France trade has suffered severely.

"VAST WEALTH" A MYTH

France, like England, lent millions to other nations, and thereby acquired the reputation of vast wealth. That reputation was and is quite undeserved. As the French could not produce enough at home, they had to add to their income by producing abroad. French savings could not be invested in France, because agriculture and industry were almost stagnant owing to the natural conditions of the country which have been described above. Consequently the thrifty had to invest their surplus in other countries. Their scanty domestic production, combined with the yield of their foreign investments, enabled the French Nation to subsist. The increase of their savings and of their foreign investments did not so much indicate their wealth as their thrift. Germany, which borrowed large amounts from France and the United States, which also borrowed from that country, were far wealthier than France. France was like a small banker who financed wealthy manufacturers needing money to extend their prosperous works. Investing money abroad has its disadvantages. France advanced gigantic sums to Russia, Turkey, the Balkan States and other countries, and the French investors have lost at least \$5,000,000,000 upon these investments. The wealth of France is due to the fact that the people live with the utmost parsimony. The frugality of the French is almost unbelievable. Millions of workers take for breakfast nothing but a cup of black coffee or a glass of cider and a roll without butter.

Before the war France was a country of relatively small natural wealth with a moderate income, a country which was gravely hampered by the existence of a gigantic national debt by far the largest in the world—the legacy of the disastrous war with Germany in 1870-71. The victorious Germans had, not only imposed an indemnity of 5,000,000,000 francs upon the defeated people, but had taken away their frontier fortresses and their military equipment. Fearing another attack by Germany—a fear based on frequent threats—they hastened to fortify the open frontier, to re-equip themselves with arms

and to rebuild the devastated districts. Thus the consolidated debt increased from 11,516,000,000 francs in 1870 to 20,356,000,000 francs in 1879, and to 26,017,000,000 francs in 1893, when the maximum was reached. It was then gradually reduced to 25,261,000,000 francs in 1914. The great war brought about a gigantic increase of the national debt, and in addition to the vast military expenditure, France had to rebuild the eastern departments which had been converted into a desert.

FRANCE DAMAGED BY WAR

The destruction of wealth caused by the war was summarized by the French Government as follows:

MAN POWER: KILLED, 1,325,000; CRIPPLED FOR LIFE, 690,000.

A—PUBLIC PROPERTY LOSSES

- 3,524 towns and villages destroyed or badly damaged.
- 1,172 Post Offices destroyed.
- 2,671 telegraph stations destroyed.
- 34,741 telephones destroyed.
- 1,492 miles of double track road completely destroyed.
- 1,481 miles of single track road completely destroyed.
- 1,529 bridges, culverts, tunnels completely destroyed.
- 683 miles of canals completely destroyed.
- 32,748 miles of highway destroyed.
- 7,300 schools and colleges completely destroyed.

B—PRIVATE PROPERTY LOSSES

- 265,000 buildings completely destroyed.
- 300,000 buildings severely damaged.
- 4,701 factories and mines, each employing over twenty persons, destroyed.
- 6,340 factories, each employing less than twenty persons, destroyed.
- 8,242,390 acres of land rendered unfit for cultivation.
- 593,000 milch cows removed.
- 469,000 sheep and rams removed.
- 367,000 horses, asses and mules removed.
- 338,000 pigs removed.

It is difficult to visualize the tremendous loss inflicted upon France by the war. The terrible figures given summarize the position very inadequately. The war has inflicted relatively far greater losses in man power on France than on Germany. France has lost half her able-bodied men. Hence agriculture is carried on largely by old men, women and children. The fact that more than 8,000,000 acres of land have

been rendered unfit for cultivation becomes understandable only when one visits France with full knowledge of the pre-war condition of the devastated districts. Areas which were models of cultivation, which were indeed a gigantic demonstration farm, have been converted in a wilderness, and the shell-torn ground had not only to be provided with roads, railways, houses, and so forth, but had to be leveled at huge expense before the plow could be used again, and cultivation will be dangerous for years to come because of the large number of unexploded shells in the ground. The cost of rebuilding the utterly devastated districts was forbidding. It would have been far cheaper to abandon them than to reconstruct them. France might have done so had she the boundless area of the United States. There was no spare territory for the displaced population. Besides, the French farmers and peasants love the soil which they have worked all their life.

Marvelous changes have taken place in the devastated districts since the armistice. In 1914 the liberated regions had a population of 4,690,203. At the armistice this figure had been reduced to 2,615,136. On April 1, 1922, the population had increased to 4,009,045, and at present it should be approximately equal to the pre-war figure. More than 5,000,000 acres of agricultural land have been leveled, cleaned and plowed. Practically all the roads, railroads, bridges, canals, telegraphs and telephones have been reconstructed. Practically all the factories and workshops have been re-created. Hundreds of thousands of houses have been built, rebuilt and repaired. Gigantic areas, however, have still to be made good, and the cost will be vast. The reconstruction of the willfully destroyed coal mines is bound to take years.

In America reconstruction of a largely agricultural district could be rapidly effected and would be relatively cheap, because houses are lightly built and roads are in a primitive condition. In France houses are solidly built, and are meant to last for centuries. Wooden buildings are practically unknown. The roads, like the Roman roads, are meant to last forever.

Intensively cultivated fields cannot rapidly be restored to their former fertility. For all these reasons we cannot wonder that the cost of restoring the devastated districts will apparently be greater than the cost of the war. In 1914 the national debt came to 25,000,000,000 francs in round figures, and was felt to be a crushing burden. On Dec. 31, 1921, the national debt came to 267,743,000,000 francs, having increased more than tenfold, and additional expenditure on repairing the devastated districts will increase it still further.

The question is whether the unremitting toil and thrift of the French will enable them to bear ten times as heavy a burden as that of 1914. So far they have received nothing on account of reparations, for the sums received from Germany sufficed only to pay the French troops of occupation on the Rhine, and other minor items. In 1913 the national wealth of France was estimated at 300,000,000,000 francs. The national debt is rapidly reaching a figure equivalent to the national wealth. It must be remembered, however, that the franc has greatly depreciated. Still, if we estimate that the franc is worth only half as much as in 1914, France's debt is equal to half the national wealth. We can best realize the significance of that figure by imagining that the United States, with its boundless resources, had to carry a similar debt. Unfortunately, France's resources are neither boundless nor easily expandable.

In the pre-war year France's national income was estimated at 37,500,000,000 francs. National income, rightly considered, consists of the yearly production of commodities. France's real income is much smaller than in the pre-war year, owing to the loss of production in the devastated districts. The eastern provinces of France, both agriculturally and industrially, were most valuable. They were the French Lancashire and Yorkshire, or the French Pennsylvania, Illinois and Massachusetts. Probably the real income of France, measured in pre-war francs, will be equal only to 30,000,000,000 francs, even if we allow for the accession of Alsace-Lorraine and the temporary accession of the Saar district.

HEAVY TAXATION

On the other hand, taxation yields in round figures 20,000,000,000 francs per year. If we estimate that the franc of the financial year has half the value and purchasing power of the pre-war franc, it follows that one-third of the national income is taken away from the people in the form of taxation, that the average Frenchman works eight months of the year for himself and four months of the year for the tax collector. Taxation has increased gigantically. It has increased fivefold, if we compare 1914 and 1921. If, however, we assume that the franc of 1921 had only half the value of the franc of 1914, taxation has increased two and a half fold. In view of the fact that France's population is at present considerably smaller than it was in 1914, notwithstanding the addition of Alsace-Lorraine, that her able-bodied men have been halved in number, that large districts have gone out of cultivation, that the bulk of her coal mines and great factories has been terribly injured, it is perfectly obvious that she has made an enormous effort to re-establish her position by hard work and severe taxation.

It is widely believed that in France taxation is light, that the wealthy are under-taxed, that the income tax is a farce, and so forth. That belief has been created very largely by unfriendly propaganda by Germany and by Germany's friends abroad. It is quite true that France raises the bulk of her taxes not directly from the wealthy, but that she relies in the main upon indirect taxes which seem undemocratic and unjust to Englishmen and Americans. However, a nation can bear only a certain weight of taxes, and taxes, however and upon whomsoever imposed, habitually distribute themselves over the whole nation exactly as oil distributes itself over the surface of a pond. A high income tax, inheritance tax, and so forth, are added to the cost of goods sold by manufacturers, or to the rent by landowners. Similarly high taxes on consumption lead to the demand for higher wages, lower rents, and so forth, and therefore are partly borne by the employer. Since time immemorial the French have been accustomed to indirect taxes of various kinds, and they prefer paying taxes, almost unknown to

themselves, in buying their food, tobacco and other necessities, to having to pay hard cash. The French peasant loves his hard cash as much as he loves his cattle.

France, moreover, possessed a number of direct taxes which were paid principally by the wealthy. In addition to the general income tax, passed just before the war, and to which people have not yet become accustomed, there remain the old direct taxes on real estate, which have been converted into taxes on the income derived from them. The old taxes on doors and windows and trades and professions have been succeeded by taxes on the income from industrial, commercial and agricultural profits. The old tax upon Stock Exchange securities, and so forth, has been made a tax upon the income from these securities. Taxation in France is quite different from taxation in England and in the United States, but, though apparently relatively light for the rich, who in Anglo-Saxon countries act as tax collectors rather than as taxpayers, for they hand on the burden, it is in reality exceedingly heavy and is considerably more onerous than in all other countries, England excepted. Per head of population, taxation was as follows in 1921-22, according to the compilation, "French Public Finance," published by the Bankers Trust Company of New York:

	Per Head
United Kingdom	\$101
Belgium	56
France	52
United States	39
Italy	24
Germany	6

The figures given are based on the exchange value of the various currencies of March, 1922. Various other comparative tables arrive at very similar results. They show that taxation per head is heaviest in Great Britain. Then come France and Belgium, and then the United States. At first sight it might be believed that France should be able to pay as much taxes per head as the United Kingdom; that she is not pulling her full weight. The tax-paying capacity of nations is limited. It is difficult to form an opinion where the limit lies. However, it seems that French taxation is as onerous as British, if we allow for the capacity of the nation.

France is much poorer than England in both capital and income. It is a well-known fact that agriculture yields far less wealth and income per head than industry and commerce. For this reason alone France cannot bear as heavy a taxation per head as England. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that the principal industrial and mining districts of France were utterly devastated and are now only beginning to produce. Besides, the French Government finds it advisable to concede favored treatment to the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine, as the imposition of the full French tax burden might alienate them from France. Last, but not least, it must be remembered that the war has reduced the able-bodied men of France to one-half their previous number, that farms are largely worked by old men, women and children, and that these terribly handicapped people must not be ruined by the tax collector.

THE MILITARY BURDEN

France has also another heavy burden—the army. As the French do not feel secure in view of Germany's attitude, Russia's intrigues and general unrest, they have retained a large army. Universal and compulsory military service has not been abolished. Every young man joins the colors. Herein lies a terrific tax upon French industry and commerce. The withdrawal of the entire able-bodied male population during the period of its greatest productivity has an effect similar to an additional tax, and it is probably no exaggeration to say that it is equivalent to a tax of \$20 per head yearly. In ordinary taxation and in taxation in the form of compulsory military service France pays approximately twice as much per head as the United States, and even if we leave military service out of account, taxation per head in half-ruined France is far heavier than in the United States. The wealth and income of the United States are gigantic if compared with France. American income per head is, in my opinion, about four times as great as income per head in France. It follows that French taxation is from six to eight times as great as American taxation. Americans have no conception how burdensome taxation is in France. If one passes through France an hour after sunset one may come through

a dozen villages without a single light. The people are still awake, but they sit in the dark until they go to bed. They cannot afford to light an oil lamp or a candle. On Dec. 31, 1921, the national debt of various countries stood as follows, according to the figures given by the Bankers Trust Company publication previously mentioned:

	Per Head
France	\$730
Belgium	426
United Kingdom	744
Italy	228
United States	215
Germany	22

These figures also are on the basis of the exchange value of currencies in March, 1922. It will be noticed that France's national debt is approximately four times as heavy as the national debt of the United States, and the debt is bound to grow still further in view of the gigantic cost of reparations of the devastated districts, which Germany ought to pay, and which, failing Germany's payment, have to be borne by the unfortunate French people. If we remember the smallness of France's resources we can realize how tremendous is the financial burden borne by the nation.

The stagnation of France's population and the oppressiveness of national taxation stand in intimate relation. In view of the smallness of France's resources, the population of the country had become stagnant long before the war. People who found it almost impossible to make both ends meet either did not marry at all or restricted their families when married. The necessity of exercising the utmost economy in every direction found its expression in the French house and flat, in which there is actually no room for a number of children. Married couples habitually live in one or two rooms because they cannot afford ampler accommodation. It is to be feared that the enormous increase of taxation subsequent to the war may lead to a further restriction upon the population, and that France's population may become rapidly retrogressive. Meanwhile Germany is flourishing. During the last year the German population increased by more than 600,000 through the excess of births over deaths.

DEARTH OF SMALL CHANGE IN FRANCE

By LOWELL JOSEPH RAGATZ

Worthlessness of many substitutes for regular coinage now in circulation in France—Losses sustained by tourists who receive "dead money"—Serious hindrance to restoration of sound business

OF all countries enjoying a relatively stable currency today, France's subsidiary coinage system is the most chaotic and the one most in need of revision and unification. The reason for such a condition lies in the shortage of small change attendant on the war and the variety of attempts which have been made to overcome it.

Soon after August, 1914, the 5, 10, 25 and 50 centime and 1-franc coins all but disappeared from circulation. This phenomenon of the vanishing of small coins is one which has always accompanied wars. The wealthy man secretes his gold, the poor one the coins normal to his station of life.

Gold as such is seldom seen in circula-

tion, and its hoarding does not outwardly much affect the carrying on of an exchange of commodities. But when the subsidiary coins employed in every transaction made during the course of a day drop from sight, business is seriously hampered, and until they are replaced in some form or other there results embarrassment and even genuine distress because would-be buyers and would-be sellers cannot conclude their deals for the lack of a medium.

The first method adopted in France to meet the small-coin shortage was to put into circulation postage stamps as money. These have the advantage of being actual legal tender in France. The French buyer of a "crown" of bread presented three 50-centime stamps and received his bread,

together with two 10-centime and one 5-centime stamps as change. Naturally, the stamps became soiled and dirty after a few handlings, and though they could be used to pay postage, many were worn out and lost before they had been made to do postal service. There was soon a strong demand for devices which would keep the stamps clean and whole and allow them to continue being employed as change indefinitely. Business houses and banks then commenced to encase



Specimen of paper currency issued by a Chamber of Commerce in France. Fifty centimes is normally worth a little less than 10 cents

stamps. The 5, 10 and 25 centime values were those generally so treated. The encasing was done in several ways—by using small waxed envelopes, by making pockets out of glassine paper, or by placing the stamps against an aluminum disk with a celluloid window front.

In all cases the cost of the protecting device was covered by the use or sale of the reverse for advertising purposes. Thus the postage stamp money given out by banks like the *Crédit Lyonnais* and the



Stamps are now used in France for small change. One method is to enclose them in a metal disc, the reverse being used for advertising purposes

Société Générale, and department stores like *Au Printemps* and *Galeries Lafayette* bore the name of the establishments issuing them. Liver pill, motor oil, soap, chocolate, newspaper and other advertisements appeared on the backs of disks or stamp envelopes issued to small shops by advertising agencies at the face value of the stamps.

LOCAL SUBSTITUTES

Postage stamp currency did not, however, satisfy the needs for 50-centime and 1-franc pieces. City and regional Chambers of Commerce throughout France therefore asked for and received governmental authority to issue their own paper currency covering these values, such pieces to be guaranteed by the respective issuing chambers and to be secured by notes of the Bank of France placed on deposit by the chambers in the French Treasury, and to be regionally interchangeable against the latter in sums of 5 francs and upward. The result has been the issue of a considerable variety of local bills. They are chiefly lithographed. The first specimens were rather crude, but attention soon came to be paid to their appearance, and now

many of the current series are in several colors and are beautiful examples of lithographic art. Local scenery and historic episodes and personages are frequently featured. There are but few Chambers of Commerce that have not availed themselves of the opportunity to issue their own currency.

Some Chambers of Commerce also asked for and received permission to issue aluminum tokens, chiefly of 5, 10 and 25 centime denominations, although there are some of 50 centimes and 1 and 2 francs as well. All of these, like the fractional currency, are guaranteed by the respective chambers, and are secured by and declared to be interchangeable for notes of the Bank of France.

Many kinds of unauthorized and unsecured counters have also been issued by large business houses and syndicates, as the *Syndicate of Hotels and Cafés of Carpentras*, the *Cafés of Lyons*, those of *Montpellier*, a wholesale foodstuffs house in *L'Hérault*, the *Vichy Thermal Establishment*, and chain stores, such as *La Solidarité Co-operative*.

There are also found doing service as money, though never intended for that purpose, slugs issued by public utility corporations for the use of their customers. Thus, in Paris, two varieties of street car checks are encountered as change almost daily. The common 25-centime piece at Marseilles is the metal check of that value issued by the local street car company. At Lyons, ice checks are a regular medium of exchange. In several cities, such as Nice and Marseilles, small metal disks issued by the *Pathé Phonograph Company* for auditions in their audiphone galleries are constantly circulating as 25 centimes.

Counters and slugs are, of course, always accepted by the firms issuing them, but they are in common general circulation as well, and in practice are accepted anywhere in the regions of origin except at the banks and tax and post offices.

The encased stamps and the Chamber of Commerce of France tokens are the only types of makeshift change which are accepted throughout the country. The fractional currency, regional chamber tokens, and counters and slugs are purely local



Paper franc note issued by a Chamber of Commerce in France

issues and are worthless elsewhere. That is their great defect.

ANNOYANCE TO TOURISTS

Local money is extremely annoying to the tourist, and in the aggregate results in a considerable loss to visitors from abroad. Upon the arrival of a stranger in a given city, the local money of the region is loaded upon him in exchange for his Bank of France notes. After he has moved on to new scenes, he will find himself carrying a supply of bills and tokens that no one there will accept. Arriving at Cherbourg, for example, a newcomer receives Granville and Cherbourg currency; at Calais, that of Du Nord et du Pas de Calais. Both are absolutely worthless in Paris, where taxi drivers, waiters, news-dealers and shopkeepers unite in rejecting them. A few banks will change the fractional currency of one region against that of another, but most will not. Even if all would, few tourists would take the trouble to rid them-

selves of a few francs' worth just before leaving. No banks will handle slugs or counters of any kind. It takes but a short stay in the country for the visitor to find his pockets filled with a score of varieties of regional currency and twice that number of tokens, counters and slugs, without being able to spend one of them. The total often reaches a considerable sum.

"DEAD MONEY"

Not only is the local currency worthless outside of the issuing region, but the several series are dated, and in most cases cannot be redeemed after a certain date. Shopkeepers who have failed to turn them in pass them on to unsuspecting tourists, who thus come to bear the loss in connection with demonetized issues. It is they, also, who are the recipients of stray tokens from other regions which have come into the shopkeepers' hands and remain "dead money," as the French say, until they,



Since Chambers of Commerce in France have been permitted to issue paper money a good many counterfeits have come into existence, like this for one franc, normally worth 19.3 cents

ignorant and trusting strangers, come along and accept them as change.

Up to the Spring of 1922, Chamber of Commerce of Paris 50-centime and 1-franc notes were generally acceptable throughout France, but, with the appearance of counterfeits at that time, their use became restricted to the vicinity of the capital.

The cost of issuing and controlling fractional currency and tokens and counters is more than covered by the gain on pieces which are never presented for redemption. One Chamber of Commerce official in Southern France estimates that 12 per cent. of the bills and 30 per cent. of the tokens are never retired. The percentage runs even higher for counters. Some of this unredeemed money is lost, but most of it is carried off in the pockets of travelers, who find themselves unable to spend it in another place. Since they cannot use the pieces, they keep them as souvenirs. Coin collectors carry off whole series for their collections.

Among the relatively few regular governmentally issued small coins which have been left in circulation one finds several French issues of totally differing character and appearance, and a heavy percentage of foreign coins, embracing almost all known tables of currency. Thus, one finds both imperial and republican copper, and two types of holed aluminum republican 5-centime pieces, while in certain regions, as in Provence, two out of three coins in daily use are not French at all, but Italian. Foreign coins circulate at a rate suggested by their similarity in size to some French variety.

The presence of this large supply of

Italian money is explained by the fact that the old French copper coins now command a higher price as bullion than as coins, and have therefore been largely melted down. Speculators import Italian coins of lower bullion value, issue them as they get in French copper ones, melt down the latter, and pocket the profit. Argentine copper coins, imported in the late '90s, when war with Italy seemed brewing, and colonial pieces, brought in by soldiers, are met with almost daily.

A STRANGE COLLECTION

An American traveling in France noted the great variety of makeshift change and foreign pieces and actual French issues passing through his hands. He put aside one of each, and at the end of three months had the following French coins: Two varieties of 1-centime, two of 2-centimes, five of 5-centimes, four of 10-centimes, three of 25-centimes, one of 50-centimes, one of 1-franc, and these foreign coins: one variety from Argentina, one from Portugal, seven from Belgium, one from Turkey, one from Spain, five from Tunis, one from Indo-China, five from Great Britain, two from Greece, five from Switzerland and twelve from Italy. Of the local currency he had two varieties of 25-centimes, forty-one of 50-centimes, thirty-seven of 1-franc and one of 2-francs. There were also 173 varieties of tokens, counters and slugs covering the 5, 10, 15, 20, 25 and 30 centime denominations, and three types of encased postage stamps of 5, 10 and 25 centimes each. No attention had been



Specimens of tokens used in France to supply the deficiency in small change

paid to dates; only distinct types had been saved.

This bewildering variety in the current medium of exchange is a distinct hindrance to the carrying on of internal business and an important factor in the weakening of the franc. The mere fact that every unit of the medium offered in exchange must be closely examined as to date, place of origin and value, if not all three, means a tremendous waste of time. Furthermore, millions of francs drop from circulation through local money leaving its circulating area and thus automatically becoming "dead." There is hardly a tobacco shop in France that does not have from 5 to 10 francs' worth of regionally worthless change on hand. The losses on the part of larger stores are, of course, much greater. The presence of these quantities of makeshift money and of the lower intrinsic value foreign coins results

inevitably in the purchasing power of the franc falling and prices rising.

Stamp money, tokens, counters, checks and fractional currency filled a very real need in the critical years of the war and immediately after. They were a necessary evil. They served a purpose, and served it well. But they can have no legitimate place under the altered conditions of today. They have become a menace to French internal trade and finance, and will have to be retired and replaced by standardized governmental coins. With them it will also be necessary to retire the obsolete French series issued on different bullion value bases, and all foreign coins which, no matter what their intrinsic value, can serve only to derange the circulating medium of France. It will be only after a unified national coinage has again come into use that attempts to stabilize and ultimately to increase the value of the franc can have the slightest chance of success.

THE JEWISH CRISIS IN EASTERN EUROPE

By CHARLES SAROLEA

Professor at the University of Edinburgh, Scotland

Marked difference between Eastern and Western Jews—Changes in national allegiance since the creation of the new States—Some of the causes of Anti-Semitism—Zionism not the solution of the difficulty

THE most interesting, the most picturesque and the most enigmatic specimens of humanity to be found in Lithuania, Poland and the Ukraine are not the Lithuanians, the Poles or the Ruthenians, but the Jewish people. The Kingdom of Israel is not to be sought for in Palestine, but in Eastern Europe. A study of the Eastern Ghettos introduces you to a new and strange world. It reveals a type of Jew whose existence you did not suspect in the West. I think I have visited most of the Ghettos of the world. I have visited those of Amsterdam and New York, of Odessa and Tiflis, of Cairo and Jerusalem. But only after

wandering through the Ghettos of Poland and Lithuania, after frequenting their synagogues and their theatres, after reading their Yiddish papers, did I understand the infinitely complex character of the Jewish race, the baffling, the elusive and the tragic nature of the Jewish problem.

We are apt to talk about the Jew as if there existed only one unmistakable and unchangeable type. But even anthropologists like Dr. Fishberg will tell you that there does not exist one Jewish type, that there are sixty different types, and that the difference between one type of Jew and another, between the Jew of Saloniki and the Jew of Vilna, between

the Sephardim and the Ashkenazim is greater than the difference between an Englishman and an Italian. And the moral, religious and political differences are at least as great as the ethnological differences.

The Western Jew is an internationalist and a cosmopolitan. He may be born in Russia or Germany, may spend his youth in Berlin or Hamburg and may settle in England or America in his triumphant maturity. The Eastern Jew, on the contrary, is a confirmed nationalist. He is as passionately attached to his Jewish nationality as any Czech or any Pole. He refuses to be merged and he looks with contempt on his fellow Jews who allow themselves to be absorbed in an alien population. The Western Jew is a progressive and a modernist. He is in favor of every new development in philosophy, literature or politics. He is the revolutionary ferment in contemporary Europe. In Bavaria, in Hungary, in Russia, where Bolshevism has been especially virulent and where Red Terrorism has for a time prevailed, many of the Bolshevik leaders have been Jews. But in Eastern Europe, the Jew is a conservative, one might even say a reactionary. A recent fascinating French novel by the brothers Tharaud, "In the Shadow of the Cross," gives a vivid description of those Jewish communities of the Hungarian Puszta. Those communities are still lingering in the Middle Ages. The Eastern Jew lives in the grip of custom. He clings to his ancient traditions. He is a conservative even in the cut of his beard and the cut of his coat. He wears the same head-gear, the same gabardines which his fathers wore five hundred years ago.

CONSERVATISM OF EASTERN JEWS

The Western Jew is more often than not a free thinker, and an uncompromising rationalist. He has cut himself adrift from every form of revealed religion. The Eastern Jew is rigidly orthodox. He is intolerant and exclusive. He draws his spiritual nourishment from the Talmud. He is to a liberal Christian what a High Churchman is to the Protestant or to the Modernist. Indeed he attaches even greater importance to ritual and form than

any Roman Catholic Ritualist. His religious ideal is still the theocratic ideal. And in that orthodox community the rabbi has an influence which is even greater than that of a Roman Catholic priest in a Belgian or Spanish village. The Western Jew is in our minds the proverbial successful trader, the moneyed man who is generally supposed to have acquired more than his proper share of the material goods of this world. The Eastern Jew is in the main a proletarian with an even lower standard of living than the proletarian of London or Glasgow. It is difficult to imagine the destitution of the bulk of the Polish Jews. They are miserably underfed, they are shockingly overcrowded—notwithstanding the many hygienic practices of their religion, all of them aiming at cleanliness—they are indescribably filthy, they are a prey to loathsome forms of skin disease. And that lower standard of living is true not only of the cities but of almost every village.

If I have accurately described the contrasts and oppositions between the Western Jew and the Eastern Jew, it follows that in all our appreciations or depreciations of the Jewish people, in all our discussions of the Jewish problem, we shall have to be very careful to discriminate between those two fundamentally different types. And yet, on the other hand, it remains true that, with all those differences, the Eastern Jew exhibits many of the characteristics which we also associate with the Western Jew, at the same time revealing those traits in a much more striking form.

In the first place, the Eastern Jew has the tribal instinct to a degree which is unintelligible to the ordinary Frenchman or Englishman. There may be many profound divisions, conflicting sects within the Jewish community; there are so many political parties that a special chart has been recently published to explain those parties to the uninitiated. But all those sects and parties combine against the Gentile whenever necessity arises. The Ghetto itself may be considered as a striking proof and as a living symbol of that tribal instinct. The existence of the Ghetto has been deservedly described as a standing memento and reproach to the Christian

persecutor. But the strange thing is that the Jew continues to live in the Ghetto of his own free will long after he has ceased to be compelled to live within its precincts. The Eastern Jew is a gregarious animal. He has what Maeterlinck calls "the spirit of the hive," and he can only live and prosper in the atmosphere of the beehive. As every Eastern Jew obeys the tribal instinct, so he obeys the family instinct. He is far more domesticated than the average Christian. In the practice of some essential private virtues the Jew is superior and not inferior to the Christian. The Jewish family still has a stability and a cohesion which is very rare elsewhere.

INTELLECTUAL ACTIVITIES

There is another trait which strikes you in the Polish Ghetto and which is common to the Jew all over the world. In the poorest village every Jew is trained to feel and to show reverence to learning. The same man who is described as a materialist believes in the triumph of mind over matter, of the ideal over brute force. In every Eastern community, the rabbi, the scholar learned in the Talmud, counts far more than the rich man, and, by the way, he often marries the daughter of the rich man. That respect for learning may be partly derived from the persistence of the theocratic tradition. It is also partly due to a recognition of the fact that only by using the powers of the mind, only by using his wits, has the Jew any chance to rise in the world and get the better of those who despise him or persecute him. Hence also the Jewish partiality for the intellectual activities, hence the enormous proportion of Jews in every liberal profession, in the law, at the bar, in medicine and in the press. Hence also the regulations which were enforced as recently as 1914 all over the Russian Empire and which restricted the proportion of Jewish students in the universities to 6 and 7 per cent. Without such regulations the majority of the lawyers or doctors of Petrograd, or Moscow, or Warsaw would have been Jews.

Last, but not least, we find in the Eastern Jew, as well as in the Western Jew, the universal predominance of the trading instinct. In a literal sense the Eastern Jew has secured a monopoly of trade.

He is not a producer, but a middleman. A casual walk through a Polish city on the Sabbath Day enables one at a glance to realize how completely commerce is in the hands of the Jews. The very social structure of the Ukraine may be given as another illustration of the same trading monopoly by the Jews. One might almost say that there are four castes in the Ukraine, as there were once in India. The cleavage is racial as well as social. At the outbreak of the war all the landowners were Poles, all the officials were Russians, all the peasants were Ruthenians, and all the tradesmen, all the innkeepers and all the publicans were Jews.

The Jews in Eastern Europe are passing through a severe crisis, perhaps the most acute, the most tragic in the millennial annals of the Chosen People. When the war broke out, more than one-third of the total Jewish population of the world, estimated approximately at twelve millions, was still living under the penal laws of Russia, within the Pale of Settlement. Fate ordained that this Pale of Settlement should become one of the main theatres of the World War. For five years the German and Russian armies, the Polish and Bolshevist armies advanced and retreated over the Ukrainian plains. The same fatality made it inevitable that throughout the war the Jews should be torn between their political allegiance and their national sympathies. They had no reason whatsoever to love the Russian régime. They have every reason to detest it. They spoke a German dialect. They were therefore necessarily suspected of being on the side of the Germans. In consequence they were subjected to every indignity on the part of the Russian armies. Hundreds of thousands were driven from their homes. Tens of thousands were hanged as spies.

NEW POLITICAL STATUS

The collapse of Czarism liberated the Jews from the Russian tyranny, but their historical political unity was broken up. Without their consent they had to change their political status. They had to become citizens of at least eight Succession States. They ceased to be Russians or Hungarians, they had to become Lithuanians, Letonians, Finns, Estonians, Ukrainians,

Czechs, Rumanians and Jugoslavs. They had a new nationality forced upon them at the very moment when national feeling was roused in every Jewish community as it had never been roused since the days of the Maccabean patriots.

In Western Europe and in America, one hears it very commonly said that the Jews have come out of the war as the only real victors, that they are the only people who received a large accretion of wealth. They used a unique opportunity and they turned their unique gifts to the making of money. And they made the most of their opportunity. As war contractors, as traders, as bankers, a large section of the Jewish people in every country made colossal fortunes. One ought to add that their political influence increased together with their financial influence. Their political influence was such that they prevailed on the largest Mohammedan power in the world to grant a national home to the Jewish people in a country which is inhabited by 80 per cent. of Mohammedan Arabs and in which all the Christian Churches have a common interest. For the first time in history a Jew became Secretary of State for India. Simultaneously another Jew became Viceroy of India. Another Jew became Secretary of Foreign Affairs in Italy. Another Jew became Foreign Secretary in Germany. At the Congress of Versailles Jewish members played a decisive part. Clemenceau, Wilson, Lloyd George, Orlando, were all surrounded by Jewish advisers.

But with the hour of victory also came the hour of supreme peril. Anti-Semitism is rampant today even where it never existed before. The Jews are made partly responsible both for the financial collapse and for the revolutionary upheaval of Central and Eastern Europe. The finances of Germany and Poland, of Austria and Hungary, broke down through the depreciation of the mark, and it was mainly the Jews who were said to have profited by that depreciation. Bavaria, Hungary and Russia witnessed a reign of terror, and it was mainly the Jews who were said to be the leaders of the terrorists. While the feeling among the Jews is rising in Eastern Europe, their economic predominance is threatened in those countries where they had hitherto an undisputed

monopoly, namely, the three agricultural States of Hungary, Poland and Rumania. The abnormal proportion of Jews in the towns of those countries has had one disastrous social effect among many others. It has arrested their social and political development.

It is the fashion today to attack the bourgeois. He is reviled by the social agitator and taxed out of existence by the State. Yet it is one of the safest generalizations of history that a sufficiently large middle class is essential to the welfare of any nation. It has been the misfortune and weakness of Hungary, Poland and Rumania that no large middle class has ever succeeded in establishing itself. In all those countries there are only two strata—a peasantry and an aristocracy. In none of those countries is there what the French call a third estate. And there is no middle class mainly because the compact numbers of Jewish people and their monopoly of trade have prevented the emergence of such a middle class. Now the Hungarians, the Poles and the Rumanians, as the result of the experiences of the war, are beginning to realize that if they are to survive they must evolve that intermediate class which at present does not exist. But if that new third estate emerges in those peasant communities of Central and Eastern Europe, if a Polish, Hungarian and Rumanian bourgeoisie becomes both class-conscious and economically self-sufficient, then the economic position of the Jews becomes untenable.

PATRIOTIC CLASH

Together with the economic issue the political issue has been raised, and it has been raised by the Jews themselves. The Poles are as intensely patriotic as the Jews. For 130 years they have lived and moved and had their being in an ideal Polish State. And now, when in the fullness of time that State has been restored, they discover with dismay that the Jews, on whose support they had a right to rely, are the secret or overt enemies of the State. They discover that the Polish Jew is primarily a Jew, that he is secondarily a German, and that in the majority of cases he refuses to be a Pole pure and simple. In this connection there is one very important fact which is not gen-

erally realized, the fact, namely, that 95 per cent. of the five million of Polish Jews speak a German dialect. It is almost universally assumed that what is called the Yiddish language is merely a Hebrew slang with an admixture of Polish and German words. But Yiddish is nothing of the kind. It is a German dialect with a sprinkling of Hebrew and Polish words. Every traveler in Poland can apply a very simple practical test. A Warsaw Pole cannot possibly understand a Polish Jew. On the other hand, a German would have no difficulty in understanding him, whether that German hails from Breslau, Berlin or Aix-la-Chapelle. And not only do the Jews speak a German dialect, which they have a perfect right to do, but they claim that this dialect shall be used and recognized in the public schools of the Polish State. The Poles contend that such a claim is intolerable and would not be admitted by an Government.

Last, not least, there is the religious difficulty. For the last twenty years the powerful national sentiment and the religious ideals which are expressed in the word Zionism have gripped the majority of the Jewish people. Unfortunately, if Zionism is a national and religious movement, which is perfectly legitimate and perhaps inevitable, it is also a movement which runs counter to other equally powerful religious and natural sentiments in the new-born States. And it yet remains to be proved whether the growth of Zionism will ultimately have served the interests of the Jewish people or whether it will have added one more powerful cause of friction to all the other causes of enmity. If the national and religious claims of the Jews are granted in Hungary, Poland and Rumania, then the Jews not only will constitute a State within a State which might create a possible, although very difficult, political situation, but they would constitute a thousand little republics within the Polish Commonwealth. One may have every sympathy with the Jews in their sufferings and in their grievances, but one can also understand the difficulty for two nations with different languages, different religions and different ideals, to live peacefully and harmoniously the one alongside the other.

TRUTH ABOUT POGROMS

No account of the Jewish question in Eastern Europe would be complete which would ignore the distressing subject of Jewish pogroms. Ever since the armistice public opinion in Great Britain and the United States has been periodically startled by the news of cruel Jewish pogroms in the new State of Poland. And all over the world there has been an outburst of indignation against those incorrigible Poles who are thus using their newly won freedom to oppress their fellow-citizens of Jewish persuasion. The extraordinary thing about those anti-Polish accusations, of ritual murders, is that whenever they have been examined they have proved themselves to be entirely unfounded. There have been numerous anti-Jewish pogroms in Bolshevik Russia, although a large proportion of the Bolshevik leaders in the Russian Government happen to be Jews. But there have been no Jewish pogroms in Poland. There have been various encounters in Vilna, in Lemberg and elsewhere between Polish troops and Jewish Bolsheviks, and rebels have actually been killed, an accident which occasionally happens in civil war. But those Jewish rebels have been killed, not because they were Jews, but because they were Bolsheviks.

Some time ago, at the request of the Polish Government, the United States Government made an investigation into the condition of the Jews in Poland. The Commissioner sent by President Wilson was Mr. Morgenthau, ex-Ambassador to Turkey, and himself a Jew. Ambassador Morgenthau was specially qualified for the task. He is a man of outstanding ability, he is the author of one of the most interesting books of the war and he had already conducted an investigation into the Armenian pogroms in Turkey. Mr. Morgenthau, in his inquiry, proved beyond the possibility of contradiction the baseless nature of the accusation.

This is not the place to discuss the solution or solutions of the Jewish riddle as it presents itself in Eastern Europe. Every one of the solutions proposed is fraught with formidable difficulties. In Russia the solution is likely to be a violent one.

In the other parts of Europe no solution thus far seems to be in sight. Assimilation cannot be a solution, because the orthodox and conservative Jewish communities refuse to be assimilated. Zionism is not a solution, because there would not even be room in Palestine to accommodate the Jewish population of the single city of Warsaw. Wholesale emigration is not a solution, because the settlement of millions of Jews is only conceivable in the unoccupied parts of Siberia.

DARK AND UNCERTAIN FUTURE

If this diagnosis is correct, the future of the Jewish race is indeed dark and uncertain. There never was a time when the spirit of good-will, of conciliation and compromise was more necessary on both sides. The Poles are naturally easy going and tolerant. The Jews have occupied a privileged position in Poland when they were persecuted in every other country. But they must understand the awful difficulties which confront even the best intentioned and the most enlightened Polish statesmen. Those who see most clearly those difficulties must not therefore be supposed to be enemies of the Jewish people. No doubt a friend of the Jews might hold that the Jewish people in Poland are the salt of the earth. But even a friend of the Jews might have to admit that under present conditions there is too much salt in the body politic of the Eastern States and that those new States may not be able to digest the six million alien

people who are living in their midst and are threatening their national existence.

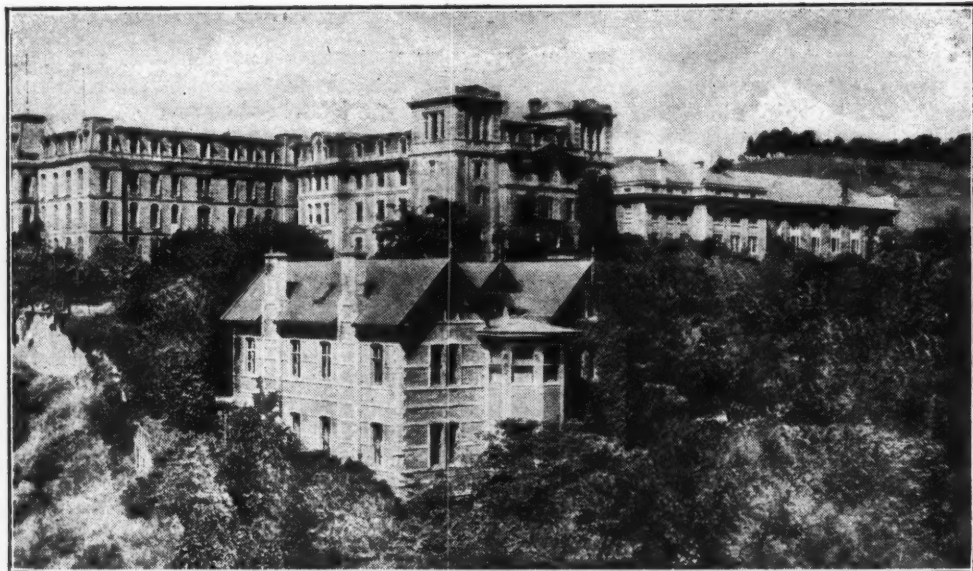
The Jewish people are a very remarkable people, endowed with many wonderful gifts. They have never been surpassed for cleverness, tenacity, vitality, versatility, adaptability, dynamic energy. But no more than any other people can they claim to have a monopoly of all the private or public virtues. Like other nations, they contain today many undesirable elements. And granting that they have been unjustly persecuted, it is also unfortunately true that those very persecutions have left those taints which oppression and slavery always leave in their train.

To state unpalatable facts is not to proclaim one's self an Anti-Semite. Yet the Jewish press has acquired the very unpleasant and very dangerous habit of starting the war-whoop of Anti-Semitism whenever a writer, however friendly to the Jews, ventures to adduce any facts which may in any way reflect on the Chosen People. Jewish writers have never hesitated to make ample use of their own highly developed critical faculties in order to expose the weaknesses and shortcomings of every community and of every class in the Gentile world. They ought to allow the same liberty to others and they ought to allow the Gentile writers to apply their much less developed critical faculties to the scientific investigation of the Jewish problem. Thus we shall not only best serve the cause of truth but the cause of the Jewish people themselves.

BRUSSELS NOW A SEAPORT

BY the opening on Nov. 12 of the new maritime canal Brussels has become a seaport. As far back as 1897 it was decided to construct a waterway for steamers drawing 24 feet by the Willibroek Canal into the Ruppel and the Scheldt. After a quarter of a century this undertaking has been completed, and henceforth the Belgian capital will be able to receive vessels up to about 3,000 tons. The distance from Brussels to the Ruppel is only 20 miles, so that the city is only 33 miles further from the sea than Antwerp. Part of the

work involved the construction of a lock with a maximum length of 360 feet and a maximum breadth of 48 feet. The port of Brussels itself now comprises a large dock, 3,208 feet by 393 feet, with 5,000 feet of quay frontage, provided with railway communication, electric cranes and other facilities. The Willibroek Canal, which was the starting point of the present scheme, was opened to navigation in 1561. It was William I. of the Netherlands who first thought of converting it into a ship canal from Brussels to the Scheldt.



Robert College, Constantinople, the leading American educational institution in the Near East

AMERICAN SCHOOL WORK IN THE NEAR EAST

By ALBERT W. STAUB

Executive Secretary, American Headquarters of
Robert College, Constantinople, and American
University of Beirut

Schools and colleges which have extended Western education in European and Asiatic Turkey—Training grounds for the best brains of the Orient—Effect of the new Nationalist policy demanding teaching in Turkish

WHILE making a survey of educational work in the Near East shortly after the signing of the original armistice, I remember well meeting a Britisher on the Black Sea. We were going from Batum to Samsun on an American destroyer, the U. S. S. Cole, and I was disembarking at the latter port in order to visit Anatolia College at Marsovan, a distance of seventy miles inland. The man I met was a seasoned resident of the Near East and not a hurried traveler like myself. In the midst of our conversation on the various forms of European and Western influences in the Near and

Middle East he made the following observation: "I have noticed that wherever the Germans have gone you will find an arsenal; wherever the French have gone you will find a railroad; wherever the British have gone you will find a customs house; but wherever the Americans have gone you will find a schoolhouse."

Very few Americans of today realize how great the influence of Americans has been during the last century in the Near East through educational institutions. Practically every one has heard of Robert College at Constantinople, but how many people know that before the war in 1914

there were carried on under the supervision of American educators in the Near East over five hundred institutions, from kindergarten grade to the university, with more than 35,000 pupils? Most of these schools were in Anatolia, which the Turkish Nationalists are reported to have declared shall be closed forever. A casual glance at the following list of institutions of high school and college grade, all of which have been closed during the war, with the exception of the Bithynia and the Adabazar High Schools, which reopened last year at Constantinople, tells the story of the defeat of the efforts of some of America's best men and women to share what they had in Christian culture with those who were in need:

COLLEGES WITH PREPARATORY DEPARTMENTS

	Enrolment in 1914
1. Anatolia College, Marsovan (for boys)	600
2. International College, Smyrna (for boys)	525
3. Central Turkey College, Aintab (for boys)	232
4. St. Paul's Collegiate Institute, Tarsus (for boys)	260
5. College of Mesopotamia, Mardin (for boys)	108
6. Van College, Van (for boys)	548
7. Sivas Teachers' College, Sivas (for boys)	503
8. American Collegiate Institute, Smyrna (for girls)	400
9. Marash College, Marash (for girls)	143
10. Euphrates College, Harpoot (for boys)	600

HIGH SCHOOLS

1. Bithynia High School, Bardizag (for boys)	231
2. Adabazar High School, Adabazar (for girls)	324
3. Brousa High School, Brousa (for girls)	230
4. Girls' Seminary, Aintab	210
5. Adana Seminary, Adana (for girls)	212
6. Girls' School, Mardin	400
7. Cesarea High Schools, Talas (for boys and girls)	323
8. Hadjin High Schools, Hadjin (for boys and girls)	400
9. Erzroom High Schools, Erzroom (for boys and girls)	180
10. Bitlis High Schools, Bitlis (for boys and girls)	231
11. Anatolia Girls' School, Marsovan	325
Total	6,952

ROBERT COLLEGE

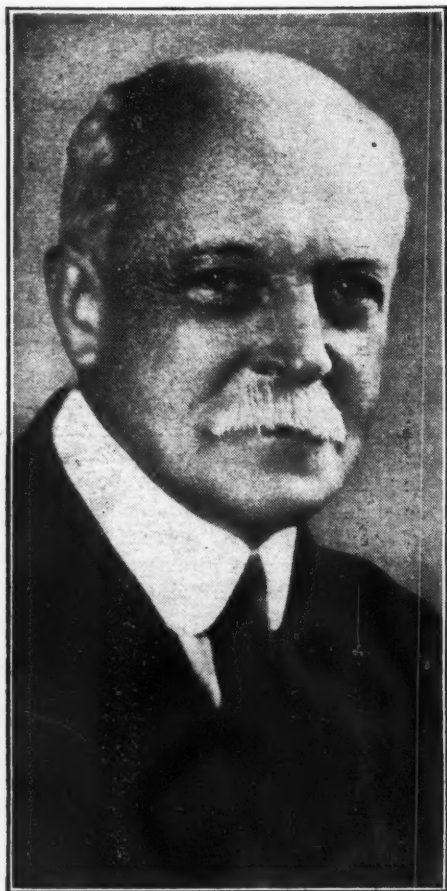
Robert College and the Constantinople Woman's College are the only institutions of higher learning that have survived. Both

these colleges have continued their work without interruption thus far, although they are now passing through the most trying period of their existence.

Founded in 1863 by Cyrus Hamlin and Christopher Rhinelander Robert, a New York sugar merchant, Robert College has offered to the youth of many nations for over half a century a training far better than that which could be obtained from any of the native schools. With no thought of denationalizing the students of any race, the college is largely responsible for the best-trained men to be found today among the Bulgarians, the Armenians, the Greeks and even the Turks. In 1903 President Washburn visited Sofia, where a careful study of the list of graduates of Robert College showed that at that time some eighty-five of these occupied positions of considerable importance and prominence. Among them were Principals of leading schools, doctors, lawyers, Mayors of cities, Generals in the army, Deputies in Parliament and Cabinet Ministers. The alumni register shows that Robert College graduates still occupy influential positions in the public service of Bulgaria as well as in private life. The Greeks who have studied at the college are also picked men, who possess both character and ability. This is one of the observations that every thoughtful person makes who travels through the Near East. Several times a request has been made by Greek rulers for the establishment at Athens of an American institution like Robert College.

For many years preceding the World War the Armenian students predominated in the enrolment. They are apparently more appreciative of culture than the other nationalities and are undoubtedly more public spirited, as is evidenced from their eagerness to found educational institutions among their own people. A large number of the American schools in Anatolia were financed by Armenians. Modern education could easily have become self-supporting and self-propagating among the Armenians if it had been given a chance.

Robert College has always had the confidence of the Turks in Constantinople. Up to the time of the revolution in 1908 it was not possible for Moslem students



CALEB F. GATES

President of Robert College, Constantinople

to attend freely. Though the sons of prominent families had been sent to the college in defiance of the difficulties experienced during the régime of Abdul Hamid, not more than twenty-five or thirty Moslem students were in attendance at any one time. After the revolution the number grew rapidly, until before the war approximately one-fourth of the student body was Moslem. For many years Tewfik Fikret Bey was the head of the Turkish Department. He was an ardent patriot, a man of liberal and tolerant spirit, high-minded and capable of unending devotion to an ideal. He was the leading poet of Turkey during his lifetime and also an artist of considerable ability.

At the present time this position is occupied by Hussein Bey, the first Moslem graduate of the college. Hussein Bey traveled with the Harbord Commission in 1919 as the personal interpreter of General Harbord. He also served as interpreter to General Harington at the Mudania conference and is now attending the Lausanne conference as an interpreter for the Turkish delegation.

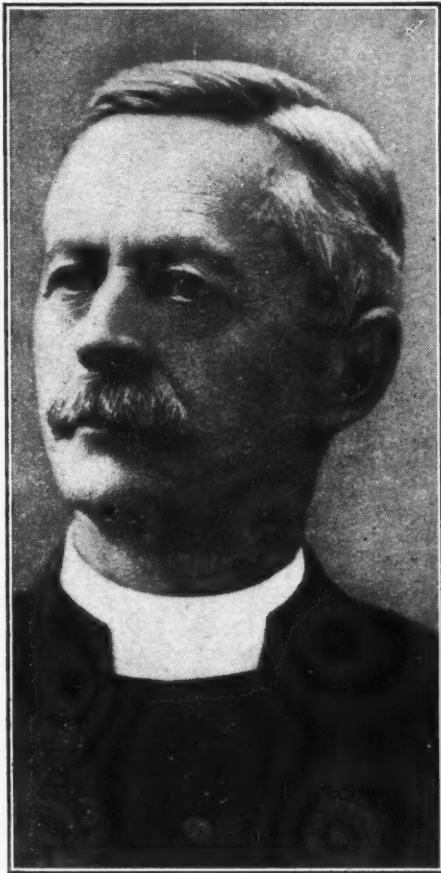
CONSTANTINOPLE WOMAN'S COLLEGE

What Robert College has accomplished among the men of the Near East, Constantinople Woman's College has attempted to do for the women with marked success. President Mary Mills Patrick has built up within her lifetime an institution which is contributing more than any other factor to the emancipation of the women of that part of the world. Since the war, especially, the Eastern woman is coming out from behind the veil and, following the example



MARY MILLS PATRICK

President of the Woman's College of Constantinople



DR. ALEXANDER MACLACHLAN
President of the International College at
Smyrna

of her sisters in the West, is engaging in the work of the world. In the field of training women for practical work, Constantinople Woman's College is doing a pioneer service, the value of which cannot be estimated in ordinary terms. Chartered in 1890 by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Constantinople Woman's College had its inception in a Girls' High School at Scutari in 1871; it was supported by the American Board of Foreign Missions until 1908, when it was established with its own Board of Trustees. Its fine buildings are the most modern in Constantinople, and its site is one of the most beautiful in the city, on the hills overlooking the Bosphorus. In every respect it is the equal of the women's colleges of

America, from which its Faculty is mainly drawn. Constantinople Woman's College is the only European college for women east of Vienna. It has an academic course leading to the Bachelor of Arts degree; a course for the training of teachers; a modern home economics department, and a department for commercial branches. In addition, it is the one institution in the Near East offering medical training to women. Such training is especially important because, according to Turkish custom, men doctors are not allowed in the harems. A Training School for Nurses is connected with the medical department, in close co-operation with the American Hospital at Constantinople.

All of these American schools are non-sectarian and are open to students of every race and religion. Because of the large number of nationalities represented in the college at Constantinople, English has been the language of instruction, although there are strong Turkish departments where the Turkish language, history and culture are taught by Turkish teachers.

After the armistice, in 1918, Anatolia College at Marsovan and the International College at Smyrna were reopened. At Marsovan practically all the native teachers and the older students had disappeared during the war, so that the college had to start all over again with small boys, including many orphans. The work progressed wonderfully well until about a year ago, when the Turkish Nationalists closed the institution on the grounds of a conspiracy against them on the part of the Greek students through their literary society, the Pontus Club. The American workers were deported from Anatolia and the buildings were again commandeered for military purposes. The International College was closed during the Smyrna fire. Being located in the suburb of Paradise, the buildings were not destroyed, although some of the homes of the American professors were looted. President MacLachlan was robbed and severely beaten by the Turkish irregulars. He escaped on a British boat and was taken to Malta.

NEW TURKISH ATTITUDE

Before the Turkish occupation of Smyrna the Turkish Nationalists issued an

ultimatum that no new schools should be opened in Anatolia by foreigners except for their own nationals. In other words, Americans might open a school only for American children, but not for Armenians, Greeks or Turks. Such schools were to be classified as private schools, and must come under the administration of the Ministry of Education of the Nationalist Government. Since the capture of Smyrna the Turks have ignored the existence of the capitulations altogether, and have decreed that Turkish shall be the language of instruction in all foreign schools and that the subjects of history and geography must be taught by Turkish teachers. The International College has not been permitted to reopen. Whether it will be necessary to terminate American effort in educational work will depend largely upon the outcome of the Lausanne conference.

The American colleges in the Near East have never interfered in politics. The students have been taught consistently to respect the existing Government in control. A position of neutrality among all the nationalities has always been maintained. The Turks themselves have fully appreciated this, as is indicated by the fact that both colleges on the Bosphorus remained open all through the war. On several occasions the Turks restrained the Germans from molesting them, and foodstuffs from the Bulgarian Government kept the institutions going.

The American University of Beirut in Syria had a similar experience. Under the direction of President Howard S. Bliss the work continued without interruption with the exception of two weeks' suspension. Almost a thousand students representing twenty nationalities from the Arabic-speaking world have obtained from this institution their instruction in the arts and sciences, medicine, pharmacy, dentistry and commerce. The university has been carrying on its work normally under the French mandate. The Treaty of Sèvres was never signed by the Turks nor has it been ratified by the Allies. What is to happen to the mandated countries is still an open question.

The American people have a real interest in these outposts in the Near East, which represent the expenditure of mil-



BAYARD DODGE

President of the American University of
Beirut, Syria

lions of dollars and the life work of many devoted men and women. Last Spring by voluntary subscriptions \$1,000,000 was raised as an emergency fund in order to meet the deficits accumulated during the war at Robert College, Constantinople Woman's College and the American University of Beirut. The present equipment of these three institutions alone represents an investment of over \$4,000,000. The future welfare of these colleges is another challenge to American idealism.

PERSIA UNDER AN AMERICAN DICTATOR

By CLAIR PRICE

Appointment of Arthur C. Millspaugh to control financial policy of Persian Government—A new effort to carry out the work attempted by Morgan Shuster



(Clinedinst)

ARTHUR C.
MILLSPAUGH

THE appointment of Arthur Chester Millspaugh, formerly Foreign Trade Adviser to the State Department, as Director General of Finance to the Persian Government renews that American interest in Persia which began with Morgan Shuster's brief administration of a similar position at Teheran eleven years ago.

Like Mr. Shuster, Mr. Millspaugh is appointed by the Persian Government on the recommendation of the State Department, with which his connection ceases. Until 1918 he was employed on the State Department's drafting staff and for the last two years his work in the department's Foreign Trade Bureau has had to do chiefly with foreign oil resources. He is 39 years old.

Like Mr. Shuster, Mr. Millspaugh will wield executive as well as advisory powers at Teheran. He will draw up the Persian Budget, institute financial reforms, and will be consulted on all matters relating to finance and concessions in Persia. Under the terms of his contract with the Persian Government no financial engagements may be entered into by the Government without the written authority of himself and the Persian Minister of Finance. His contract is for five years at a salary of \$15,000, the contract to terminate at the end of three years if either he or the Government desires.

Thus for the second time an American

becomes, at the request of the Persian Government, virtual dictator of Persia. The first American dictatorship was a brief one. Mr. Shuster, equipped with a three years' contract, reached Teheran on May 12, 1911, and left as the result of two ultimatums from the Russian Legation on Jan. 11, 1912. He was succeeded by M. Mornard, a former Belgian customs official in Persia. M. Mornard was succeeded at the end of the war by a British Financial Mission, dispatched to Teheran under the Anglo-Persian agreement of 1919, a mission consisting of Sydney A. Armitage-Smith, C. B.; Lieut. Col. J. J. H. Nation, C. V. O., D. S. O., and the Hon. J. M. Balfour, O. B. E. That mission left Teheran on Sept. 14, 1921, and negotiations began shortly thereafter between the Persian Legation and the State Department for the re-employment of an American Director General.

It now becomes possible to survey the situation in which for the second time an American will undertake to put Persia on its financial feet. In this connection no more interesting statement of the present Persian situation is available than a book which has just been published by Mr. J. M. Balfour, one of Mr. Millspaugh's predecessors at Teheran. Incidentally, in this book the office of Financial Adviser to the Persian Government begins to establish a literary tradition for itself. Mr. Shuster's six months in the Ministry of Finance at Teheran resulted in the publication of his book, "The Strangling of Persia," upon his return to the United States. Mr. Balfour's sixteen months in the same Ministry now results in the publication of his "Recent Happenings in Persia" upon his return to England. Although the tone of Mr. Balfour's narrative is possibly more re-

strained than that of Mr. Shuster's, both are equally pointed, the American's pointedness being leveled against the Russian and British Governments and the Englishman's against his own Government.

Mr. Balfour's book is necessarily in large part a post-mortem on the defunct Anglo-Persian Agreement of 1919, with its provision for a £2,000,000 loan to the Persian Government and for the appointment of British advisers in the Persian Ministries. It carries the story down to September, 1921, when he left Teheran for London. By that time the Persian Government was seeking to complete its escape from Russian and British interests—not only by seeking an American Director General of Finance, but by inducing American capital to interest itself in Persian oil. Accordingly, last November, the Persian Parliament passed a bill granting a fifty-year concession to the Standard Oil Company to exploit the oil fields in the five northern provinces which are not covered by the Anglo-Persian Company's concession. The new concession, however, was greeted with protests from the Russian and British Legations, from the Russians on behalf of a certain Georgian, Khoshtaria, to whom the concession was said to have been granted before the war, and from the British on behalf of the Anglo-Persian Company, to which Khoshtaria is said to have sold his concession. Negotiations then ensued between the Standard and Anglo-Persian Companies in New York, at which an agreement was reached, as a result of which the British protest was withdrawn and the two companies made a joint advance last March of \$1,000,000 against future royalties to the Persian Government. Since the Government was penniless, the money was spent at once, but as soon as Teheran learned that the payment had been conditional on the grant of the concession to the two companies in conjunction, the Persian Parliament last June amended the original bill of November, 1921, and the Government was authorized to negotiate with the Sinclair group of New York, while the Parliament formed a special committee to formulate a tentative report on the Standard and Sinclair offers.

In the meantime, the Government is still in a penniless condition and probably will be until Mr. Millspaugh has taken control. In this connection, Mr. Balfour's survey of the conditions in the Persian Ministry of Finance is of interest:

I am absolutely convinced that the resources of Persia are amply sufficient to provide an adequate revenue for all her legitimate requirements without increasing the burden of taxation in any respect. Readjustment and honest administration are all that are required to render the country independent of foreign assistance, but these are precisely what cannot be obtained under the present Government; and just as I am convinced that adequate reform is possible, equally I am assured that it will never be carried into effect so long as the direction of the affairs of the country remains in the hands of the present ruling class, unless such external pressure is brought to bear as it is beyond their power to oppose. * * *

We must not consider the Persian as not appreciating the position and as failing to realize the defects of the present situation. There is no lack of young men who have been educated abroad, and have returned fully supplied with ideas upon the subject, while the discussion of theoretical reform is fully in accord with Persian mentality; but unfortunately there is no accord between words and actions, and for practical purposes there is as much result as ensues from the discussions of a village debating society. * * *

As to what the revenue amounts to at the present time, it is useless to hazard an opinion. In former times sufficient was derived from the provinces to defray the expenses of the Central Government, but today the position is reversed, and in the large majority of cases the Central Government is compelled to subsidize the provinces, only one or two of which contribute trifling sums to the Treasury. The consequence is that the Government is compelled to subsist upon loans, seeing that the monthly deficit is anywhere from 500,000 to 1,000,000 tomans [one toman equals \$2.50.]

Under such circumstances any financial adviser who is not invested with practically despotic powers must certainly fail, as both Mr. Shuster and Mr. Armitage-Smith found by experience. The Persian is delighted to have an adviser, particularly if he is able to arrange credits for him, but he objects most strongly to that adviser interfering in administration or attempting to effect reforms. So long as he is content to draw his salary and look on, he may remain for an unlimited period, since Persians are loath to dismiss European officials; but so soon as he attempts to effect any practical effort to carry reform beyond the stage of proposals, opposition will immediately be experienced.

It now remains to see how Mr. Millspaugh will succeed in his efforts.

THE REAL AFRICA OF TODAY

By WILLIAM H. BALDWIN

Many misconceptions regarding the "Great Dark Continent" dispelled by an international commission which discovered vast natural wealth and considerable capacity for civilization—How the era of exploitation has been followed by efforts to eliminate disease and develop education

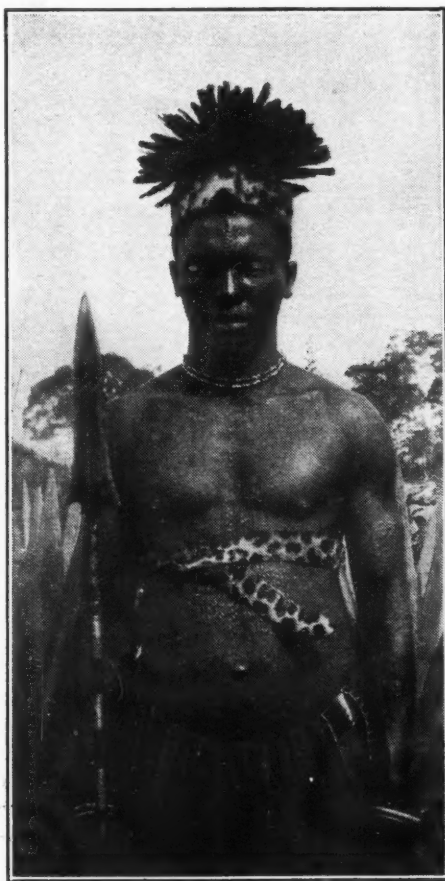
TOO much Stanley, the brilliant journalist who was sent to write good newspaper copy and then come back, and not enough Livingstone, the scientist and missionary who went to stay and to study the country and its peoples; such is the most recent diagnosis of the world's attitude toward Africa. It is made by the African Education Commission, an international body of experts in the educational and missionary fields, who spent ten months and traveled 25,000 miles through West, South and Equatorial Africa during 1920 and 1921.

Although the commission's study was made primarily at the instance of the missionary societies of North America, who desired an expert appraisal of their educational work in Africa and a program for further development, the investigation went so fully into the underlying conditions that the official report, which was recently issued by the Phelps-Stokes Fund of New York, makes an important contribution to the

discussion of mandatories and of Africa's future in international affairs. British students of the problem pronounce the undertaking one of the outstanding events in a half century of African development, and a concrete proof of the interest aroused by the commission are the visits

which are already being made by Government officials, leading missionaries and educated Africans to the United States for the purpose of gaining a first-hand knowledge of our agencies for promoting education and better inter-racial co-operation.

Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, the Chairman of the African Education Commission and writer of its report, says that Africa is by no means the "Great Dark Continent," but rather the "Continent of Great Misunderstandings." James Emman Kwegyir Aggrey, a member of the Fanti tribe of the Gold Coast, who served as a member of the commission, uses a somewhat different metaphor in his lectures on the results of the investigation. Describing with



Typical Bantu tribesman,
Northeastern Congo



Natives of Kenya Colony in full war paint

his hand the outline of Africa. Mr. Aggrey, who received his higher education at Columbia University and is now a teacher in Livingstone College at Salisbury, N. C., says that it has long been the policy of the European nations to think of the continent as a luscious pear from which to take as large bites as possible, but that in reality its outline forms the great question mark of the world's future.

It may be well to name here the other members of the African Education Commission, and to state that they are all in general agreement with the written report of their chairman. Dr. Henry Stanley Hollenbeck, a Wisconsin man who has been for twelve years a medical missionary of the American Board in Angola, contributed his special training to the commission's investigation. Mr. and Mrs. Arthur W. Wilkie, of the United Free Church of Scotland, were appointed as representatives of the Conference of Missionary Societies of Great Britain and Ireland. The Rev. John T. Tucker, of the Canadian Congregational Board's staff in Angola, was a member of the commission until illness in his family called him home, and Leo A. Roy,

an expert in industrial education, served as the secretary.

MANY MISCONCEPTIONS

Of "many misconceptions that still tend to limit the investment of capital in African industry and agriculture, to hamper the efforts of colonial governments, and discourage the support of missions," Dr. Jones names four—"of such importance as to require consideration in any effort to evaluate the educational possibilities." The first one relates to the wealth of resources and natural scenery. Africa popularly brings up the picture of the eternal twilight and steam bath of the jungle ("dank" is the adjective most frequently employed), although something is now known of the stupendous Victoria Falls; but as yet the white lacy of the surf against the green coast, the vast rolling plains and lofty plateaus have not been injected into the popular picture. Likewise, on the material side the jungle again intrudes, with here and there a possible glint of the diamond mines of Kimberley and of the gold ridge of Johannesburg, and a gleam or two of ivory; but as yet no general knowledge has

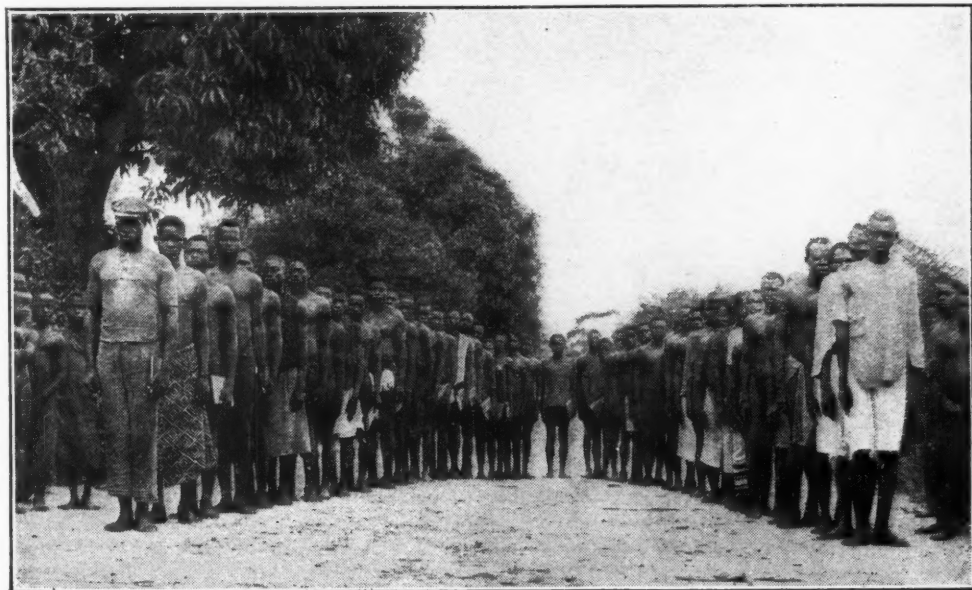
been diffused of the Katanga copper mines of the Belgian Congo, the coal in Rhodesia, the oil fields of Angola, the timberlands, the cattle plains, the great farming districts still untouched, and the "white coal" which pours downward unharnessed from the highlands of the West Coast. "There is sufficient evidence of potential wealth," Dr. Jones concludes, "to convince the most skeptical that Africa is the undeveloped treasure house of the world."

At what price? is the probable question of the general public, thinking of Africa's reputation for tropical fevers and sleeping sickness. At the price of reasonable intelligence and care, of modern hygiene and sanitation, answers Dr. Jones in taking up the second of his four "Great Misunderstandings." Here he points out that those who shudder at the thought of Africa are perhaps forgetting the terrible mortality of our forefathers in settling North America. The pioneers of both continents were either ignorant of the effects of changes in climate and environment, and of the dangers of strange diseases, or indifferent to them; in America we have merely passed beyond the pioneer stage and forgotten it. Africa, however, is an even vaster continent than ours, and has all varieties of climate, due to differences in latitude and altitude. Prac-

tically all of British South Africa, which covers half the area of the United States, is in the south temperate zone. The great Congo Basin has an average altitude of 1,000 feet. Such West Coast ports as Free-town and Victoria have high mountains right behind them, where one can go for relief from the heat.

At a mission station situated where the Congo River crosses the Equator the commission found four American families with seven children, all in good health. On the lower Congo there are two American missionaries and their wives who have served an average of forty years in that region. Near at hand, in a district notorious for its tsetse flies, a band of Jesuit Fathers and Brothers have been at work for twenty-five years; furthermore, they have a large herd of cattle, although these animals are easier victims of sleeping sickness than are human beings. By eliminating mosquitos and improving sanitation some of the West Coast cities have reduced the mortality among the whites to the normal European rate. Continuing, Dr. Jones writes:

The health experience of the Education Commission is most reassuring to travelers in Africa. This party of Americans and Europeans with one native African traveled 25,000 miles in ten months in coast and interior regions of Africa, absolutely without illness from any African cause.



Native evangelists trained by the missionary society at Yakusu, Upper Congo River, in Belgian Congo

The only precautions required were helmets in the tropics, daily quinine in malarial regions, and boiled drinking water where the supply was not supervised.

A fair comparison with other parts of the world will undoubtedly show that Africa will respond to modern methods of sanitation and hygiene in exactly the same way as continents of similar climatic, economic and social conditions.

NATIVES' MENTAL CAPACITY

The most unfortunate and unfair of all the misunderstandings, according to the report, is to the effect that the African peoples do not give promise of development sufficient to warrant efforts in their behalf. The best answer to that notion, says Dr. Jones, are the Africans who are occupying positions of importance in every colony visited by the commission. There are physicians, lawyers and ministers who have completed the requirements of European universities; the clerical tasks of government, industry and commerce are very largely entrusted to young African men, and the mechanical operations on railroads and in construction are more and more being taken over by African workmen.

"Nor are the possibilities of the Africans to be judged only by those who have entered the ranks of civilization, whether in Africa, Europe or America," Dr. Jones continues. "Their folk-lore, their handicrafts, their native music, their forms of government, their linguistic powers, all are substantial evidences of their capacity to respond to the wise approaches of civilization."

As symbolic of the changes which have already been worked, Dr. Jones illustrates his report with a photograph of an old fortress on the Gold Coast. In the dungeons below, against which the Atlantic flings its spray, natives captured in raids into the interior were once packed while awaiting the slave ships; these dungeons are now either empty or used to store provisions. In the residential quarters above this old fortress the traders and captains used to while away the time between raids and voyages in riotous living; now they are the headquarters of trained officials, many of whom are devoting their lives to improving the condition of the natives in education, health and material well-being,

through an enlightened administration of the colony.

Dr. Jones refers to this castle as a cross-cut of the white man's relations with Africa, but he points out that the worst features were in part balanced even at the height of the slave-raiding era, and that the best features of the present day are as much in their promise as in their accomplishments to date. The greatest single influence for good has been that exercised by the missionaries of various nationalities, to whose devotion, energy and spirit of self-sacrifice without thought of price or praise Dr. Jones pays emphatic tribute. Government officials have shown a mingling of the good and the bad, the efficient and the inefficient, with a present tendency toward more general interest in developing farsighted, constructive programs. The trading and industrial classes have been a bad third so far as the importance of their beneficial influence on native life is concerned, but here also Dr. Jones reports a promising improvement, which he attributes largely to the fact that the home organizations are sending out a higher type of representative and are more careful in appointing agents in the field. He sums up the situation as follows:

Some have thought that the influences of Europeans and Americans have been more for evil than for good. Some have thought that it would have been better to leave the African in his natural condition. Few have realized the importance of the movements that have been started and the changes that have been wrought. It must be stated that many mistakes have been made and many injustices have been perpetrated. In some sections the Africans have suffered tragically at the hands of selfish white exploiters. Evil influences originated by white people still persist in too many parts of Africa. It is, however, the emphatic conviction of the Education Commission that the gains that have come to Africa through the white man are far greater than the losses.

Among the most convincing evidences of this conviction are those obtained from a study of the portions of Africa now ruled by European nations. The changes introduced by the white groups have resulted in the improvement of physical well-being, including the decrease of sickness and death and the attendant suffering; the decrease and often the elimination of the power of witchcraft, a form of oppression exceedingly general and cruel; the overthrow of intertribal slavery; the development of friendly relations among tribes formerly hostile; the extension of the economic benefits of the country to all the tribes, and the opening of the doors of civilization to those who

were formerly limited to the narrow compass of their tribes.

As a check against the result of these specified benefits, the report points out that the statistics of most of the colonies show a decided increase in population, and therefore an improvement in general welfare. "The African areas and colonies where decreases are indicated are known from other sources to be suffering from wrong governmental, economic or social policies."

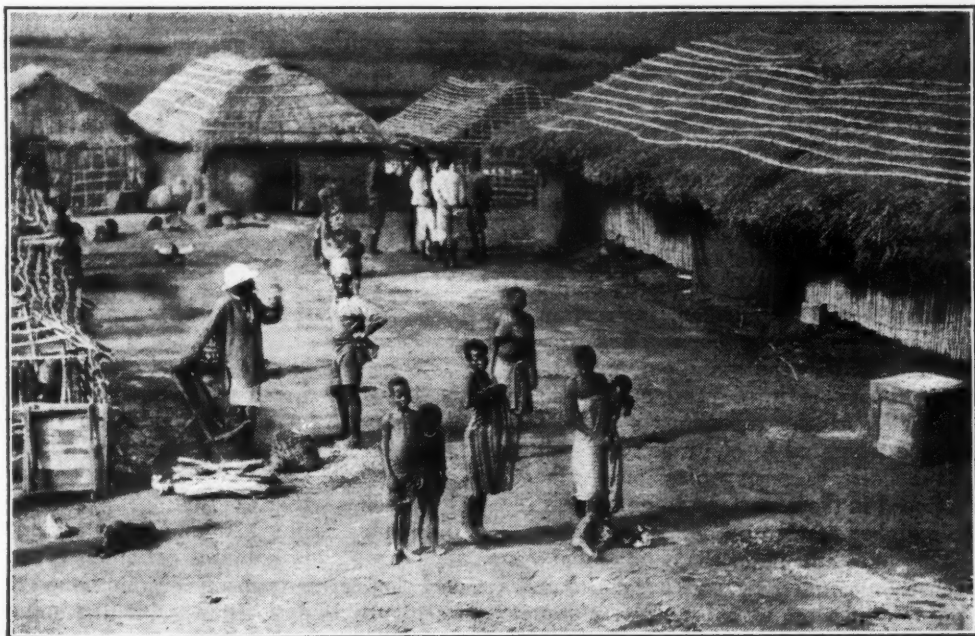
Having built up this background of general conditions in Africa, Dr. Jones goes thoroughly into the educational accomplishments and possibilities. His central theme is that the natives are capable of receiving education and of using it to the decided advantage of African progress. He divides the problem into schooling for the masses and training for native leadership, which he deems essential.

NEED OF CO-OPERATION

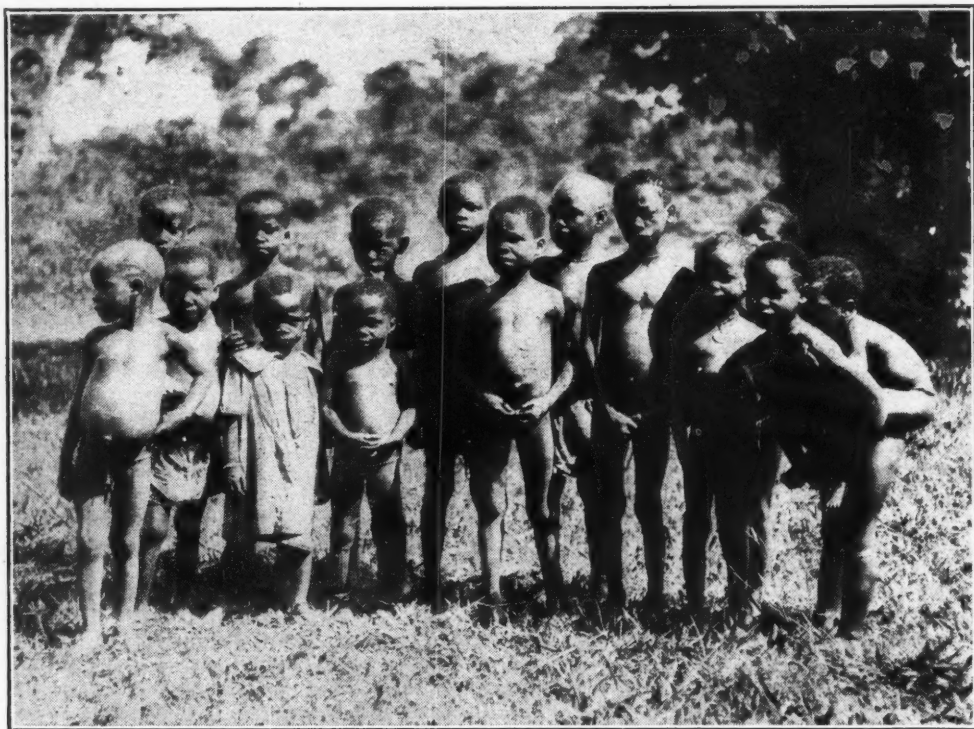
"Ignorance, injustice, unrest in Africa will always disturb the peace of mankind elsewhere," the report continues. "The only cure for the so-called 'rising tide of color' and 'the revolt against civilization,'

heralded abroad with such anxiety by some alarmists at the present time, is in the development of genuine and sincere co-operation of peoples of all races based upon an education of the native masses and native leaders in the common essentials of life. * * * The great principle of Christian brotherhood is as essential to humanity as self-determination."

The education which the commission proposes is based on meeting the real needs of the native masses. The pedagogical term is "adaptation of education," and an entire chapter is devoted to outlining a practical scheme of such adaptations. Instead of superimposing an Old World curriculum on a primitive tribal organization, the village school becomes a community centre where the outside activities are of equal importance with the formal classroom work. Personal hygiene, community sanitation, gardening, the care of live stock, proper home conditions, the simple handicrafts of the people, are important factors in the proposed curriculum. Instruction should be given through the local dialect or language, and emphasis should be laid upon the native folklore and music. In other words, the commission recognizes



Native village, 2,000 feet above sea level, in the Upper Congo region



Children of a kindergarten conducted by the British Baptists in the Upper Congo

that the great mass of the children attending these village schools will remain in their villages, and that the aim should be to make them better natives, rather than imitations of Europeans or Americans.

With such elementary education, well organized and supervised, secondary schools can really function. Such schools will form the recruiting ground for the girls and boys who are to become the teachers of their people and the leaders in all walks of life. Although the emphasis remains distinctly African, instruction in the language of the country's European officials and in the main points of European history is introduced at this stage. Graduates of the secondary schools will then be prepared to continue their studies in the colleges and professional schools proposed in the report, or to go abroad for their higher education.

This bare outline of the educational system recommended by the African Education Commission would not be complete without mention of three forces which permeate the entire plan. The first and

most important is the emphasis laid upon religion from village school to post-graduate training. The second is the assumption that education for the girls equals in importance that for the boys. The third is the need for constant co-operation between the four great factors in African life—missionaries, government officials, commercial interests and natives—at every step in the development of the continent and its peoples. Frequent references are made to the various agencies which have been developed in our own South toward the same end.

Before turning to detailed discussions of the situation in such governmental units as Liberia, Sierra Leone, Belgian Congo, the Gold Coast, Angola, Nigeria and British South Africa, the Education Commission makes it clear that, thanks to the missionaries and to the forward-looking men among the colonial officials, a great deal has already been accomplished toward providing Africa with the educational opportunities which are essential to the future welfare of that continent.

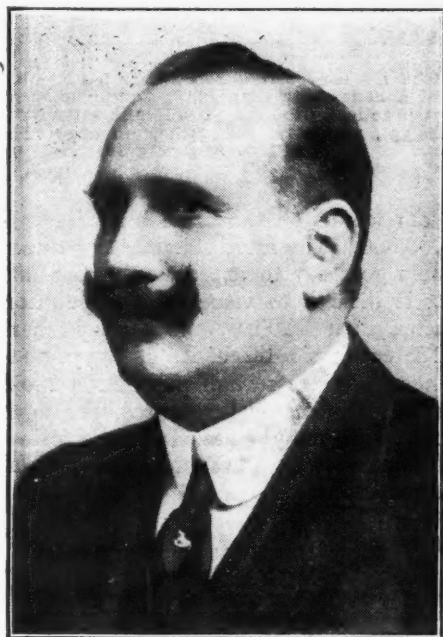
WHY EGYPT IS IN REVOLT

By A BRITISH PUBLICIST

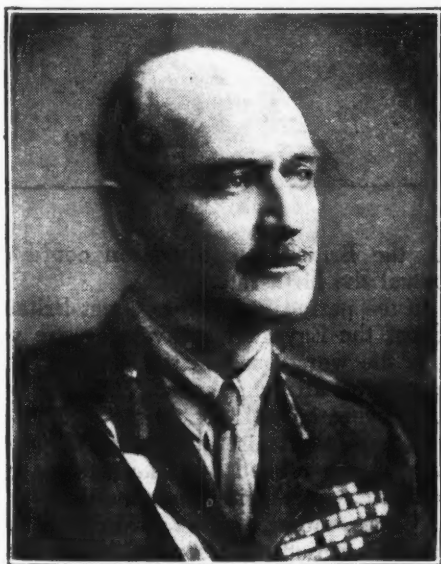
Trouble essentially economic because of only narrow fertile area on the Nile to support greatly increased population—Agitation against British rule carried on by natives, who are prevented from exploiting their countrymen

TO the great majority of people the true cause of Egypt's dissatisfaction is a mystery. It is impossible for the average reader to disentangle the bewildering facts and arguments put before him in the press. Egyptian politics, like the politics of most nations, are very complicated and involved. If we wish to understand the position it is best to disregard the views of leading personalities and to explore the fundamental causes of friction between Egypt and Great Britain.

It is very widely believed that the trouble is mainly political, that Great Britain has ill-treated and oppressed the Egyptians and has caused them to revolt and to demand their independence. In reality, the trouble is in the main economic and social.

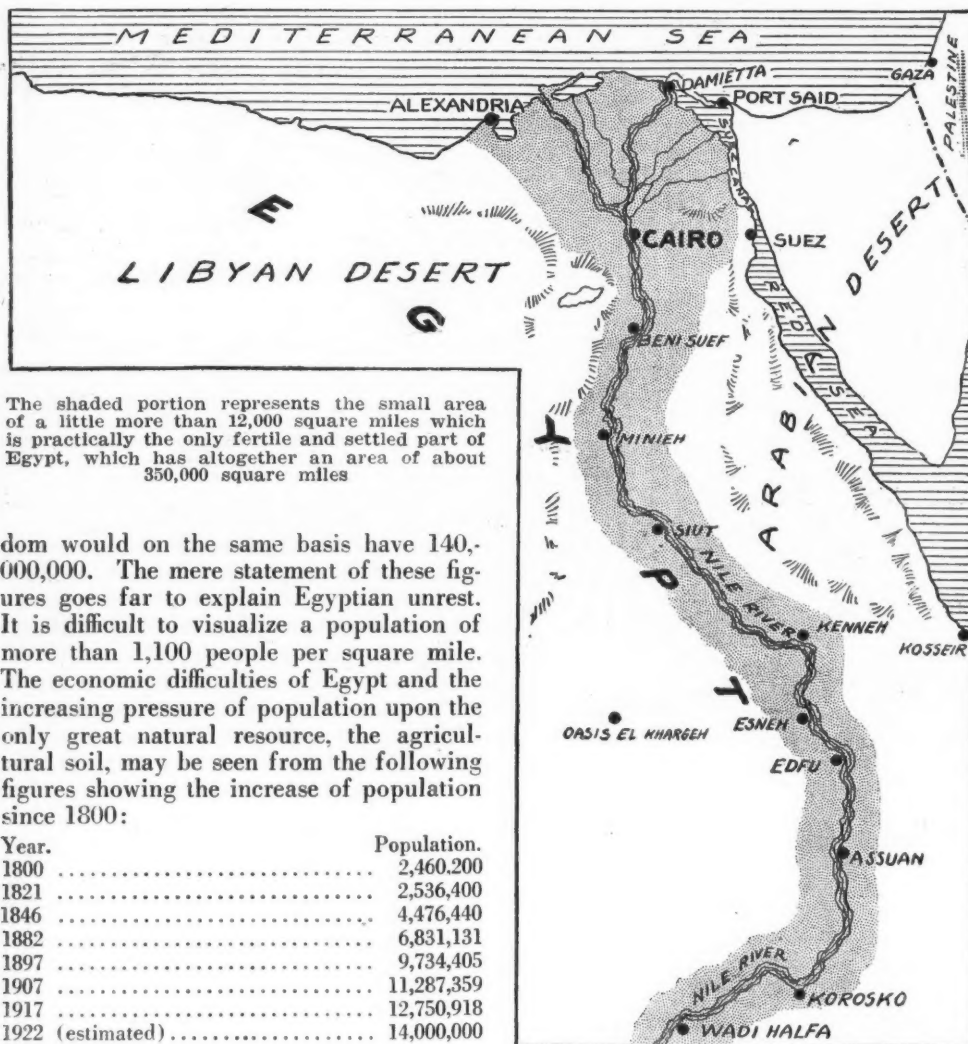


AHMED FUAD PASHA
Sultan of Egypt



LORD ALLENBY
British High Commissioner in Egypt

Egypt has an area of about 350,000 square miles. The bulk of the country consists of inhospitable sand and desert. Practically the only settled portion consists of a very narrow band of cultivated territory on each side of the Nile. The Nile valley and delta, the only settled portion of Egypt, have an area of 12,226 square miles, almost exactly one-fourth the size of New York State. This narrow area contains the densest population in the world. At the moment it should come to approximately 14,000,000. If New York State were as densely peopled, it would have nearly 60,000,000 inhabitants, while the United King-



dom would on the same basis have 140,000,000. The mere statement of these figures goes far to explain Egyptian unrest. It is difficult to visualize a population of more than 1,100 people per square mile. The economic difficulties of Egypt and the increasing pressure of population upon the only great natural resource, the agricultural soil, may be seen from the following figures showing the increase of population since 1800:

Year.	Population.
1800	2,460,200
1821	2,536,400
1846	4,476,440
1882	6,831,131
1897	9,734,405
1907	11,287,359
1917	12,750,918
1922 (estimated)	14,000,000

In 1879 Great Britain and France took over the control of Egypt, and in 1882 the British intervened with armed force. Since then the population has considerably more than doubled. The mere fact of Egypt's population having increased with unprecedented rapidity and having attained unprecedented numbers shows that Great Britain has promoted the best interests of the people by giving them order, peace, good government and greatly improved economic conditions. The fact that the pressure of population on the national resources is still very great, owing to the unprecedentedly rapid growth of the population, is not Great Britain's fault. After

all, the British administration could not control the birth rate.

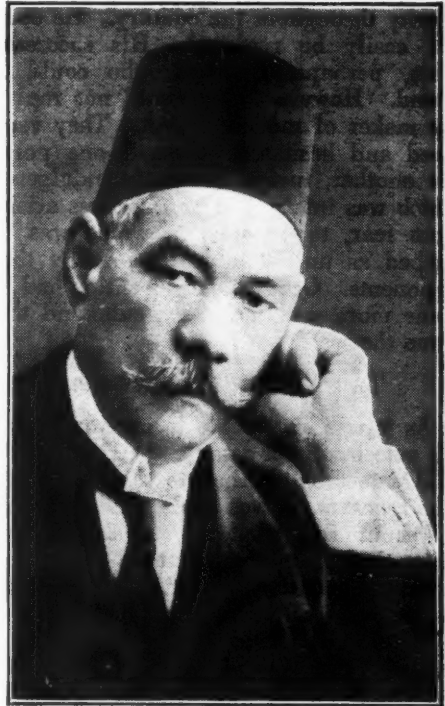
In the period just before Great Britain's advent the Egyptian cultivators were perhaps the worst used in the world. They were slaves all but in name. Taxation was both severe and unjust, law was a mockery, and the miserable peasants were flogged and robbed by their masters with impunity. Great Britain gave to the people just laws, order, good government and vastly increased the resources of the country by huge irrigation and reclamation works, by introducing machinery which lightened toil and by starting new indus-

tries. Naturally, the peasants were delighted, but gradually they became accustomed to the new conditions. The younger generation no longer knows or is able to realize how terrible the life of the people was before the advent of the British.

THE DEPOSED RULING CLASS

While the downtrodden masses were given a new and a better life by the British administrators, their old oppressors, the privileged classes, naturally resented the arrival of the British, who had deprived them of their power of arbitrarily exploiting the masses of their countrymen. They became as irreconcilable as the French nobility after the advent of the Republic, plotting unceasingly against those who stood between them and their former victims. Any weapon was used with a view of weakening and eventually overthrowing the British administrators, who were treated as usurpers and who were described to the people as their exploiters and their worst enemies. If the Nile did not rise sufficiently to irrigate the fields, if there was a short harvest, the people were told that the British had caused the shortage by deliberately tampering with the river by means of their irrigation works. If a bumper harvest lowered the prices of cotton throughout the world, the British were accused of impoverishing the cultivators, by deliberately depressing the price of Egyptian cotton. Infectious disease was attributed to the wicked activities of British doctors and to unnecessary sanitary regulations. Among the greatest enemies of the British Administration were the hosts of usurers and village sharks, who had enslaved the unfortunate fellahin, for Great Britain had introduced legislation whereby they were prevented from seizing small farms on account of debts incurred by the cultivators.

Among the improvements which Great Britain introduced into Egypt was modern education. Lord Cromer and his successors desired not only to improve the economic position of the people, but to raise them intellectually as well and to create a body of men able to administer the country. The new intelligentsia of Egypt was recruited partly from the poorer members of the old



(Keystone)

SAID ZAGHLUL PASHA
Leader of the Egyptian Nationalists

privileged ruling class which regarded the British with understandable hatred, partly from the striving sons of the poor, who, being out of touch with the British, naturally looked toward the old privileged class for support and guidance and for financial help. The result was that the highly trained young men became violently anti-British, became tools of the displaced privileged classes which helped them to start journals hostile to Great Britain by providing the necessary funds.

The position described made it exceedingly difficult for the British to carry on the administration. Officials, if ever so able, honest and unselfish, were constantly opposed, maliciously slandered and held up to general odium. The late Lord Cromer, one of the ablest administrators of modern times, possessed extraordinary gifts for dealing with his native opponents and detractors, for he knew how to combine gentleness with energy, and decades

of experience had given him a unique authority throughout the country. He could not easily be replaced. His successors were, perhaps, the best who could be found. However, they could not replace the maker of modern Egypt. They vacillated and hesitated, changed one policy for another, turned from overindulgence, which was interpreted as weakness arising from fear, to overenergy, which was described as unjustifiable tyranny by their opponents. Gradually the position had become more and more difficult, and then came the war.

THE NATIVE INTELLIGENTSIA

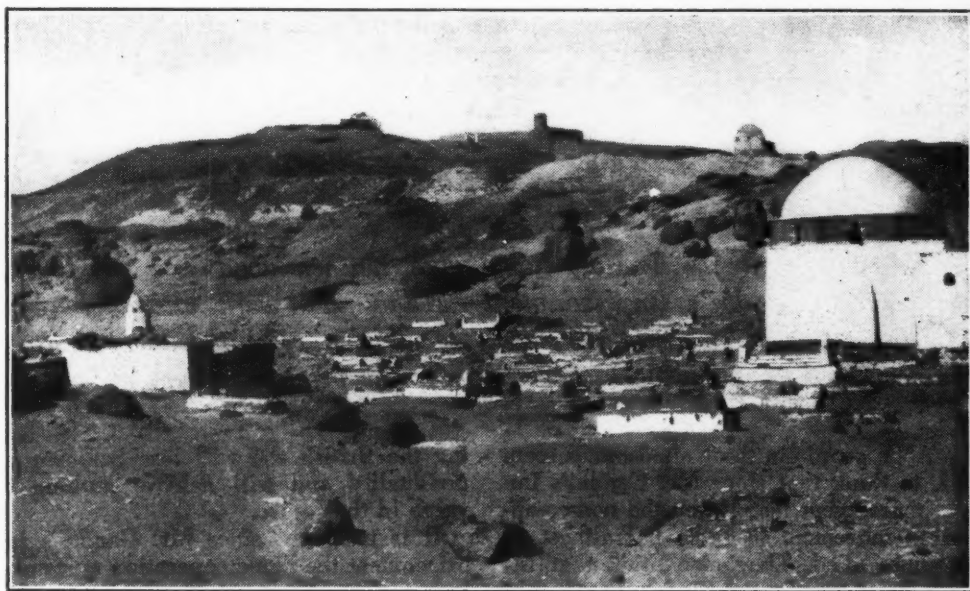
As it was impossible to overthrow British rule by direct assault, the Egyptian intelligentsia had turned to the ballot box. The ignorant natives could easily be made to shout for whatever watchword was given to them by the agitators. They need only be told that a certain word was a panacea for all their ills. If the harvest had failed, the British were to blame and self-government would provide the remedy. Unprofitable prices were caused by the British and could be raised by self-determination and independence.

The British Government wished that the war should not add to Egypt's burdens. The country was to observe neutrality during the struggle. The only thing the people were asked to do was to provide labor battalions, and it was expected that good food and good pay would attract large numbers of volunteers. However, native officials, village usurers, speculators and others saw in the call for volunteers an opportunity for making money. They told the people of the district that they were compelled to join the labor battalions and defrauded them of large sums of money by demanding pay for being exempted from service and by demanding participation in the wages received. Thus the people were made to believe that the bad old days of forced labor had returned. Egyptian leaders started collecting money for the Red Cross, and again swarms of usurers and speculators saw an opportunity for enriching themselves. The people were told that subscription was compulsory. They squeezed the inhabitants like the Turkish Pashas, kept a great deal of the money received and put the blame on the British.

During the war food prices rose greatly throughout the world. The harvest of the



Native village on the Nile, along the banks of which Egypt has its most fertile areas



Specimen of the desert of which the greater part of Egypt consists

Egyptian loan sharks and speculators was greatly increased thereby. They bought the cotton of the ignorant cultivators far below the market price, doled out food to them at usurious prices and told them that the British were responsible for their difficulties. In fairness, it should be added that some blame must be put on the British Administration. It had been seriously weakened before the outbreak of the war. During the war some of the ablest men were withdrawn. Newcomers, unacquainted with Egyptian conditions and not sufficiently qualified for dealing with the natives, were given authority. Native Egyptians were hastily appointed to important positions without adequate inquiry into their character and ability. Mistakes were made in handling the position and the people. Thus the friction between Great Britain and Egypt became accentuated, and the demand for self-determination and

independence was greatly strengthened by the ringing proclamations and the resounding promises of President Wilson and other preachers of self-determination for all peoples.

Lately a good deal of information has appeared in the press about the will and the demands of the Egyptian people. The Egyptian people proper have no political opinions, are not a political people. They are helpless tools in the hands of the agitators, who arouse their passions by appealing to their ignorance. It is an ungrateful task to raise a poor and ill-treated nation. The attempt to improve the lot of the natives results, earlier or later, in their turning against their deliverers and benefactors. That has been the history of the world since the earliest ages, and the story of Egypt merely confirms that age-old experience.

NATIONALISM MARCHES ON IN INDIA

By V. B. METTA*

Gandhi movement for Indian home rule neither dead nor moribund, despite Mr. Gandhi's imprisonment—Mahatma's work ultimately constructive—Broken promises, brutality of British officials, lack of faith in reforms and British Turkish policy keep the present movement vitalized

MANY people in the United States seem to think that since Mr. Gandhi's imprisonment last March the non-co-operation movement in India has almost, if not quite, died. They also think that Indians have now lost faith in Mr. Gandhi and his ideals, because they are finding out that his work was mainly destructive, not constructive. That these ideas are not justified by facts I, who am neither a Gandhist nor an Anglophobe, will endeavor to show in this article.

Those who wish to appear wise apply the word "evolution" to their own ideals and condemn those who differ from them as "revolutionists." India is not rushing to anything new and unknown. What she wants is to evolve on national lines. She does not wish to have British institutions, however good they may be, but Indian institutions modified to suit modern conditions. The reason for this wish of hers is simple. She can work under her own institutions with greater success than under those which are of foreign origin. The British type of Parliament may suit the British temperament, but that does not mean that either the Chinese or the Hindus can do well by adopting it. Hitherto Indians have been made to believe that their salvation lay in adopting British political and social institutions. India, however, has now discovered that by merely imitat-

ing the British she will lose her own individuality and will achieve nothing of value in the future.

It is true that since Mr. Gandhi's imprisonment the non-co-operation movement has not been as prominent before the world as it was before, because the dramatic personality of its great leader is absent. But the movement itself runs in as deep channels as ever. Mr. Gandhi's work is continued by his wife, and leaders like Pundit M. Malviya, Pundit M. Nehru and C. R. Das. Mr. Gandhi's chief object was to help the growth of nationalism in India, and as nationalism rests essentially on economics, he emphasized the importance of using home-made articles and boycotting foreign ones. His followers are still as enthusiastic in using khaddar (home-made cloth) as they were before. The use of the spinning wheel is spreading into the remotest villages of India. The khaddar is worn by millions of Indians today. It is greatly in evidence in public meetings and marriage processions. During the last "Gandhi Week" hundreds of well-born and well educated men and women were hawking it in the streets of Bombay.†

How great the enthusiasm for the national cause still is may be gathered from the following words of Mrs. Nehru, the wife of the Indian leader of that name, which she uttered recently at Allahabad: "Enlist yourselves in your hundreds of

*Mr. Metta is a native of India, who received his education at Cambridge University, and, after graduation, became a barrister. In his home country, the Bombay Presidency, he is widely known as a writer on problems of the day, and on Oriental history, art and literature. He is the author of two books, "National Education" and "Wake up, Princes!" Mr. Metta is now a resident of the United States.

†It is worth noting that the Amir of Afghanistan and his officers are using khaddar. His Majesty declared last August that the use of khaddar was of great importance to his country from the economical point of view.

thousands as members of the Provincial Volunteer Corps, and go to jail. Let those that remain behind turn their spinning wheels and work for peace." Nor is Mr. Gandhi himself forgotten. Only about six weeks before this article was written some hundred or more women of Bombay went to the Yeravada jail to pay homage to him. Marmaduke Pickthall, the well-known British novelist, who is at present editing *The Bombay Chronicle*, said in a speech delivered in Bombay, "Mr. Gandhi is a living inspiration for us still."

GANDHI'S WORK CONSTRUCTIVE

Mr. Gandhi destroyed in order to construct. His constructive work is of various kinds. He has brought the various parts and peoples of India together as no other leader of India under British rule ever did. Hindu-Moslem unity is an accomplished fact, and it is his work. He lighted the lamp of patriotism in the hearts of the women and students of India. The masses of India, until recently negligible from a political point of view, are now his followers. A large number of middle-class people, which includes the most intellectual Indians, are also on his side. It is mainly the Princes, landlords and capitalists who are not with him, because their self-interest triumphs over their patriotism. In other words, they fear to lose what they have if the present order of things is changed. Mr. Gandhi has made even the "Untouchables" (the very lowest classes of Hindus) self-respecting and brought them into the national fold. By thus inspiring millions of his fellow-countrymen with the ideals of patriotism and self-sacrifice, he has created a moral revolution in the country. He has also dealt a severe blow to the liquor traffic in India. By encouraging the use of the spinning wheel he has been instrumental in saving millions of rupees every year for his country, and giving work to millions of people who have nothing to do after the rainy season is over. He did not succeed in preventing all lawyers from practicing in the British law courts, it is true, but he at least succeeded in opening the eyes of his people to the fact that a judiciary wholly under the influence of a foreign bureaucracy is not desirable. In his edu-

cational work he has succeeded better. Hundreds of schools of the national type have been started in the country during the last three years. So greatly do the people prefer national schools to Government schools that only a month ago the poor and middle-class people of the Province of Gujarat subscribed 1,000,000 rupees for the Gujarat Vidyapith (university) in less than a fortnight. Is not all this great constructive work? What more can a people do who do not hold power in their hands? Let it be noted that this work is done to save the soul of India and not with the object of breaking away from common human civilization. India wishes to be herself—as England and France are—without ceasing to love other countries. The word "hatred" is not to be found in the dictionary of Mr. Gandhi and his non-co-operators.

WHY GANDHISM CONTINUES

Let us now consider the main reasons for the vitality and strength of the non-co-operation movement in India. First of all, there is the unfortunate fact that in this world promises and their fulfillment do not necessarily go together. Doctor Dadabhoy Naoroji, an old Indian leader, who was at heart a sincere admirer of the British, said many years ago that "the British Government is good at keeping promise to the ear and breaking it to the heart." Lord Northbrook, himself an Englishman, on seeing that the liberal promises made in the Queen's Proclamation to the people of India were not kept by the Indian Government, said in the House of Lords: "My lords, I do not see what is the use of all this political hypocrisy." The Right Hon. Srinivas Sastri, a noted Indian Moderate, recently said to the Viceroy: "We never have seen in the country such a lack of hope and faith in the Government of the day. I say this in all solemnity. We have never seen such a total lack of faith among the people as today." Sir P. S. Shivaswamy, another noted Indian Moderate, dissatisfied with the behavior of his Government, recently remarked in London: "Delay in carrying out the resolutions of the Legislative Assembly for the reorganizing of the army and reducing its cost, would

seriously shake the faith even of the Moderate Party." He then suggested the appointment of a small committee to find out defects in the working of the reforms scheme and to propose remedies. To show further that the "new reforms" in the government of India are not realized in practice, I may point out the fact that Sir Abdar Rahim, the Indian head of the Jail Department of the Government of Bengal, resigned his post a few months ago because his British subordinates did not carry out his orders. Sirdar Majithia also gave up his post in the Punjab Government for the same reason. Sir S. Bannerjea, Minister of Bengal, complained that Lord Ronaldshay, the Governor of the Province, did not even consult him before starting his repressive campaign against the people of India at the time of the Prince of Wales's visit to the country.

BRUTAL TREATMENT BY OFFICIALS

Then there is the brutal treatment of the Akalis in the Punjab. These people recently dispossessed the self-styled proprietor of a temple and garden which in actual fact belonged to the Akali community. The proprietor thereupon called in the police, who came and inflicted the most severe injuries on more than a thousand Akalis. The Akalis are known to be a strong and brave people, but, as they are non-co-operators, they are averse to violence, and therefore did nothing in retaliation. Could not the Government have asked both the parties in dispute to have the matter of ownership of the temple and its garden settled in a civil court? Where was the necessity of the police beating the Akalis till they fainted or died?

The Bengalee, an Indian paper, wrote about the affair as follows: "The blood boils in our veins as we go through the unvarnished description of brutality perpetrated on peaceful Sikhs in the name of law and order."

The Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee met at Amritsar on Sept. 18 and passed the following resolution:

This committee places on record its strong condemnation of the brutalities perpetrated by the police on the unresisting and non-violent Akalis, and congratulates the Akalis on the calm and

cool courage and marvelous self-restraint with which they have borne the sufferings cruelly inflicted on them.

The Congress committee then appointed a subcommittee to inquire into the whole matter and report on it to the All-India Congress Committee. (It may be noted that Mr. Jayakar, who has been said by a recent writer on India to be disillusioned about the efficacy of the non-co-operation movement, is one of the members of this committee.)

The Government of India has just published its resolution on the suffocation of the Moplah prisoners in a railway compartment some months ago, in which it acknowledges the guilt of some of its officers. The man who was the Government Traffic Inspector at the time is dead, but the Government has ordered the prosecution of Sergeant Andrews, who was in charge of the prisoners.

Acts have been recently passed in the Indian Legislature, against the wishes of the majority of Indians, to protect Indian Princes and Indian police against public criticism.

LLOYD GEORGE'S BLUNDERS

On top of all this Mr. Lloyd George declared some four months ago that the reforms granted to India were merely an "experiment," and that the Indian civil service (that is, the Indian bureaucracy) was the "steel frame" of the Government of India. This so roused the anger of even the Moderates that the editor of a well-known Moderate monthly called the speech "an insult to Indians"; and Mrs. Annie Besant, who can never be accused of loving Mr. Gandhi too much, wrote: "If the Premier spoke foolishly in his haste, let him say so like a man and withdraw his words."

The British made themselves thoroughly disliked by Indians by backing the Greeks in their aggressive wars against the Turkish Nationalists. This dislike almost turned into hatred when all Indians were forbidden to go and join Mustapha Kemal's army. Their joy knew no bounds when they learned of the Turkish victory over the Greeks. In a mass meeting held on Sept. 19 in the Calcutta Town Hall the following resolution was passed: "Greater

efforts should be made for the collection of funds for Angora and for the introduction of khaddar throughout the length and breadth of India."

The events of the last few years in India, as well as in the world outside, have made Indians dissatisfied with present-day western civilization. They feel that it is based not on moral principles, but on brute force. They find that there is no alliance between the words and actions of European Governments, because they talk of one thing, and do another. They realize that Turkey would have been robbed of everything, had she not been able to defeat the Greeks by military force. They also see that Japan is respected by the Western Powers, because she is a strong power, and not because she is good. Therefore there is sorrow in their hearts. They do not hate the British or any other European people. What they dislike is the present immoral Governments of these nations of the West. If these Governments could be fundamentally improved, the In-

dians would have nothing to be dissatisfied with. They are waiting for the dawn of a better day to come. Is that day coming from the East or from the Far West?

From every movement, however noble and great, some bad results must follow. But that is no reason for condemning the movement itself. If there have been a few riots in India, it cannot be said that they were the outcome of the non-co-operation movement, which is essentially of a non-violent character. They took place in spite of it. Before condemning that movement for such riots, why not consider the admirable spirit of non-violence shown by the Akalis and the villagers of Mulshi Petha, against a brutal police and a capitalist company in India? Whatever may be charged against the movement by its enemies one thing is certain—it is not, as some writers on India have recently declared, in a moribund state, owing to the imprisonment of Mr. Gandhi; on the contrary, it is very much alive and an active, vital national force in India today.

CANADA'S CLAIM TO WEALTH OF POLAR REGION

CANADIAN expansion in the polar region was advanced during the Summer of 1922 by the expedition which explored the Northern Archipelago under the direction of J. D. Craig in the ship *Arctic* and which established a new Post Office and police and customs posts only 850 miles from the North Pole. Some time was spent in exploring and charting the hitherto uncharted portion of the coast westward from Cape Tennyson, on the southeastern extremity of Ellesmere Island. A hitherto unknown island off the Cape was named Stewart Island after the Minister of the Interior, a large glacier Cory Glacier after the Deputy Minister of the Interior, and another glacier after In-

spector Wilcox. The report reads: "The Northern Archipelago, comprising all the islands west of Greenland and north of the mainland of Canada, have been the object of this year's operations in the North, and the Department of the Interior through its Northwest Territories branch has taken the first steps in an extensive program calculated efficiently to maintain Canada's sovereignty in this vast region with its important mineral potentialities, available information suggesting particularly coal, petroleum, copper, graphite, gypsum, iron, mica, and possibly gold. Nine members of the mounted police have been detailed for northern duty under Inspector Wilcox."

CANADA'S FOUR FARMER PREMIERS

By E. L. CHICANOT

Author of "The New Klondyke," "Sealing in Newfoundland," &c.

Western Provinces of the Dominion now under the rule of agrarian Governments—Immigrant boys who have risen to the highest political positions—Significance of the agricultural revolution in politics

THE western and more recently exploited half of the Dominion of Canada, stretching from the rocky boundary of Ontario to the blue waters of the Pacific Ocean, has developed into one of the foremost agricultural areas of the globe. For the main part it is one generous expanse of countless farms and ranches, miles of cattle-dotted prairie and waving wheat fields. Industrial sections are scanty and populated centres of more than a few hundred persons few and far between. Though the region is rich in a wide variety of natural resources, the culture of the soil reigns supreme among all the pursuits of the Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia.

British and Canadian electoral systems were first drawn up and later evolved and developed so as to insure as far as possible that those elected to the governing body of a State or country should, in all possible respects, be the representatives of the majority of the people. Theoretically this is the case, but not infrequently it happens that a passive majority of the populace finds through its apathy that it is represented by a more aggressive body of others classes which regards politics as a business. As a rule this condition does not long prevail, and the majority, finding themselves dissatisfied, organize politically and inevitably come into power through their superior strength. This has been, to a large extent, the situation in Western Canada. Farmers, as a body, were not interested in the political game. In some Provinces they had their organizations, powerful bodies for the advancement of agriculture, but emphatically and avowed-

ly opposed to political intervention. However, after having given many party Governments a fair trial, and dissatisfied at representation by lawyers and other professional men, the farmers decided to go aggressively into politics and set up their own parties and Governments.

Within a short period Western Canada has come to be governed by its farmers, by actual representative agricultural members, with the interests of the farming parties at heart, and a knowledge of what they want and should have. In certain Provinces this has been effected in a gradual manner, the progressive spirit working like leaven through the introduction of new blood as farmer members were elected to seats as they became vacant. The party retained its name, but its views and its aims underwent a subtle change. In other Provinces the farmer organizations were turned into powerful political machines, existing Governments were bodily overthrown, and entire farmer parties substituted.

The Government of the Province of Saskatchewan has never ceased to be Liberal in name, and has no direct affiliation with an organized farmers' movement in the Province, but it is virtually a farmers' party. British Columbia also has a Liberal Government which follows more along old party lines and is representative of a greater variety of classes, but the Cabinet is headed by a practical farmer, a veteran in politics, and is a Government which gives general satisfaction to the agriculturalists of British Columbia, who form a smaller proportion of the people than in any of the Prairie Provinces. Alberta's case has been different. The United Farm-

ers of Alberta entered the political field with the declared intention of putting a party of farmers into power, and at the election of 1921 they swept the polls. A new Cabinet was formed with only one member who had had previous political experience, and who at the same time was the only representative of classes other than the farmers. Alberta's example was followed by Manitoba in 1922, and having turned the United Farmers of Manitoba from a peaceful society for the promotion of agriculture into a politically lethal weapon, it defeated the Norris Government and put into power an entirely new party consisting entirely of agrarians.

Though no political party can be expected to give unqualified satisfaction to all classes of the people, government by farmers has had a sufficiently exhaustive test in Western Canada to prove its general ability, while individual members, whose previous political experience was nil, have compelled the admiration of veteran politicians in the exercise of their functions. What the farmers believed was wanted was not so much legal and technical knowledge as more common sense and business insight. They had small respect for parliamentary tradition and rode rough-shod over opposition.

Canada has hardly yet grown accustomed to the revolution in her legislative affairs, to the fact that the Governments of the four Provinces of Western Canada should, at the same time, be presided over by farmers, that the hands that guide the four ships of State should have previously guided the plow. It is typical of the West that three of these Premiers should have first seen Canada as practically penniless immigrant youths from England. It is further characteristic of the reckless, tradition-smashing way they have in Canada that two of them were chosen to lead the destinies of areas several times the size of England without the slightest previous experience in politics, and that they left civil posts to contest seats specially reserved for such emergencies after general elections had been concluded. If a further sign of revolution is needed, it is that the farmers put into power by actual selection the two youngest Premiers Canada has ever known.

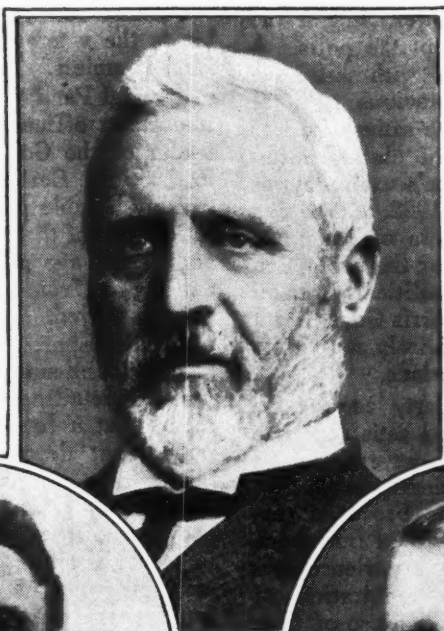
FARM BOY'S CAREER

Premier John Oliver of British Columbia is the veteran parliamentarian of the four Premiers. He has sat in different Provincial Parliaments and occupied many important offices before filling that of leader of the Government. He was born in 1856 in Derbyshire, England, of extremely humble parentage. His early education was of the most rudimentary nature and at the age of 12 he was engaged in hauling ore from the mine where his father was employed. He furthered his education in his spare time, and in what leisure he could find supplemented his mine earnings by retailing eggs for neighboring farmers at a local market. In 1869 the mines shut down, and both he and his father lost their employment. This blow, which momentarily overwhelmed them, proved, however, to be the turning point in their fortunes, since it decided them to emigrate to a new land. In 1870 the family came to Canada and located on a farm in Ontario. For seven years Oliver spent his Summers working on the farm and his Winters wielding an axe in the woods. During this time he thoroughly mastered the arts of woodcraft, stone blasting and stone masonry, an accumulation of knowledge which was to stand him in good stead later as Minister of Labor and Industries.

He decided to go West, and in 1877 arrived in British Columbia by way of Omaha. His first employment in the Province was as axe-man in the survey work of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the Fraser Valley. In the Fall of the same year he filed on a homestead and there took anchor. His farming efforts constitute a history of pioneer struggles and hardships, from which he emerged a successful and prosperous farmer. He was one of the first provincial agriculturists to purchase a steam tractor outfit, which he qualified himself to run, and later he put in a sawmill to provide for his own needs. Regarded only as a Western farmer, he has been an outstanding success. Of his five sons, four are university graduates and practicing their professions in the Province, while the fifth manages the home farm.

Having regard to his subsequent success in the Legislature, it is rather surprising to find Oliver rejecting his first opportunity of entering politics by refusing the offer to run for a Federal riding in British Columbia. When it came to a provincial election, however, he changed his mind, and in 1900 was elected to the

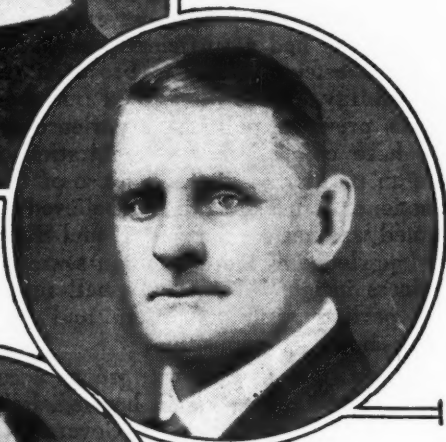
JOHN OLIVER
Premier of British Columbia



His association with the political history of the Province has largely been the history of British Columbia politics since 1900. During the years when the Liberals were without representation in the House he regularly sat and followed the sessions at Victoria. He is essentially the one politician among Government leaders



JOHN BRACKEN
Premier of Manitoba



H. GREENFIELD
Premier of Alberta

British Columbia House, where he sat until defeated in the 1909 election. He was defeated again in 1911, when he ran for the Federal seat he had previously refused. In 1916 he was re-elected to the Provincial House and became Minister of Agriculture. Two years later he was made leader of the Liberal Party, and on the death of Premier Brewster stepped into the vacant position, which he still occupies.



CHARLES DUNNING
Premier of Saskatchewan

in Western Canada. Not only by his outstanding qualities of leadership but by reason of his long association with the party he became provincial leader—an ambitious goal for one who as a boy trucked coal from an English mine.

In appearance Oliver reflects the hardihood and courage which have brought him through a hundred struggles. This is practically tantamount to saying he is a typical Western farmer. He has a strong, com-

manding face and a huge, rough and rugged frame. His physical attributes might be taken as an index to his personal qualities. His manner is brusque and bereft of finesse. His is not a diplomatic manner, and there is little beating about the bush. He tackles a political problem as he would a farm task, putting all energy into it with the object of performing the work as well as possible in as short a time as possible. He is the type of man who cannot constitutionally occupy any other position than that of leader, no matter in what sphere of life he may be moving.

PREMIERSHIP AT ONE BOUND

A very different man is his brother Premier in Alberta, the adjoining Province, though hailing also from across the sea and coming to Canada under very similar circumstances. Herbert Greenfield was born in Winchester, England, in 1869, and was 23 when he emigrated to Canada and became a farm hand in Ontario. When he considered he had accumulated enough capital and experience he went West and settled on a homestead in Alberta. He still has the old homestead, though other lands he acquired about it have increased his holdings until the farm now consists of 600 acres. Up to 1921 there was nothing particularly noteworthy about his career, and few people had heard of him until his selection to head the new farmers' Government brought him into the limelight. He was a very ordinary individual among thousands of brother agriculturists, following farming the year round.

Greenfield's first public office was on his local municipal council, whose destinies he guided for five years. For several years following this he was President of the Provincial Association of Municipal Districts and naturally graduated from this to a position among the leaders of the United Farmers of Alberta when that organization came into being and started out on its meteoric career. When the party, turned political, won the provincial election in 1921 he was elected to the leadership of the party and became Premier. He had not the slightest previous acquaintance with the Legislature or its affairs, and after he had been selected as

Premier a seat had to be found for him and a special election held.

A high type of man's man, he is far removed from the old style of politician. He rings genuine through and through, and invariably creates the finest impression upon those with whom he comes into contact. This is not so much due to tact or diplomacy as the admirable personal qualities which have endeared him to the men he leads. He is naturally a most sociable man, at home with people of all classes, understanding their problems and with a ready sympathy for all troubles. In judgment he is quick and sound and his decisions are seldom revoked. His answers are never evasive, but direct and to the point, proffered with the most exquisite grace and humor. Strictly speaking, he is not a politician, but he is giving Alberta, in the opinion of a majority of the people, the soundest practical administration it has had for some time. His business faculties are remarkable and contain the secret of his rapid rise and unanimous selection for office. He is still a practical farmer and supervises his farm, which is worked by his two boys, and to which he periodically retires when the pressure of governmental affairs permits.

Premier Charles Dunning of Saskatchewan is a much younger man. In fact, at 36 he is the youngest man who has ever led a Canadian Government, and has been in the Dominion only since 1902. At 17 years of age he was living in Leicestershire, England, a weak and sickly youth, and his first and foremost reason for emigrating was to find a more vigorous climate with the possibilities of an out-of-door life. He was absolutely without capital when he arrived in Saskatchewan and took a job on a farm at Yorkton. Later he homesteaded and settled down on his 160 acres to be an average Western farmer. A few speeches at farmers' conventions marked him out, however, and he quickly came into public notice. His first official post was that of Director of the Saskatchewan Co-operative Elevator Company, of which he later became secretary and finally general manager. This position he relinquished to become Treasurer in the Saskatchewan Provincial Government, and he successively filled the offices of Minister

hood school. The first indications of fairs, Minister of Telephones and Railways, Minister of Labor and Industries and Provincial Secretary. At 36 years of age Charles Dunning could have commanded a fabulous salary in the grain business of the province where less than twenty years before he had pitched hay and harvested for \$10 a month, but he preferred at a smaller remuneration to serve his fellow-agrarians in the Provincial Legislature.

OFFICE BOY'S SUCCESS

Whatever ability he had was not disclosed in his early years in England. The son of a railway employe, he attended the public schools until 11 years of age. He then became an office boy in a patent office, where he stayed until he was 14, leaving to begin his apprenticeship in an engineering works. Ill health drove him to Canada, where a few years later his father followed him. Father and son are now partners in the Saskatchewan farm.

Dunning's phenomenal rise is largely due to his keen business ability and success as an organizer. He is active and untiring and invariably goes aggressively after what he wants. He possesses the knack of being able to size up a situation rapidly and form an unerring judgment instantly. He is not a politician, but first and last a business man. He is of fine personal appearance, handsome of countenance, and kindly and courteous in manner. Canadian history has no story more encouraging to immigrant youth.

Manitoba is the latest province to overthrow the existing political order and establish a Government of farmers. This it did in the middle of 1922. Its agricultural Premier differs from his brother Prime Ministers in being a Canadian and in having had an education. Like Premier Greenfield, however, he was totally without political experience when he accepted his first governmental post and had never attended a session of any legislative body. He was specially elected at Le Pas after the Farmer Party had swept the Manitoba polls.

John Bracken was born the product of generations of Canadian stock on an On-

executive talent exhibited themselves when he was not attending the neighborhood to this position while yet in his there, working among the dairy cattle he became warden of his county, being tario farm. All his early years were spent of Agriculture, Minister of Municipal Affairs. After four years of actual farm management he went to the agricultural college at Guelph, where he was graduated with honors, taking three scholarships and one proficiency medal. He was a member of the college livestock judging team, which was the first at the International Livestock Show at Chicago to wrest the honors from the teams representing United States agricultural colleges, and bring the trophy to Canada. As an example of his diverse qualities and ready adaptability it is related that, although in his busy farm life there had been no time for games, he was within a few months the best Rugby player the college had and is still considered one of the best athletes Guelph has turned out.

After a series of post-graduate courses at universities in the United States, Bracken went to Manitoba as representative of the Dominion Seed Branch and did excellent work in stimulating interest in the production of better seed. On the formation of the Province of Saskatchewan, in 1905, he was made Superintendent of Institutes and Fairs, combined with the position of Live Stock Commissioner. Further promotion was rapid. The opening of the University of Saskatchewan found him installed as professor of field husbandry, where his work attracted attention all over the continent and he became an authority on the production of field crops under dry farming conditions. He is the author of two books considered standard works on the subject, and in addition has written twenty-five pamphlets on various subjects pertaining to field husbandry. From the University of Saskatchewan he went to Manitoba Agricultural College as President.

The triumph of the Farmer Party in Manitoba was followed by his unanimous selection as Premier of the new Government, despite the fact that he had never in his career shown any inclination to enter politics. It was another indication of the

tendency of Western farmers to get away from the old order of Government and supplant legal lore in the House by sound business sense and an understanding of agricultural problems. As a private citizen Bracken had done perhaps more than any man for provincial agriculture; it was logical that he was the best man to continue this work with the advantages and facilities the position of head of the Government gave him.

FARM EXPERT AS PREMIER

Sufficient time has not yet passed to test Bracken. Though his experience has been academic, he understands farmers and their problems. Physically he is not a strong man and has systematically to conserve his energy. He is not by nature a public man, but prefers his own home and its affairs. He is, however, a man most kindly, easy to approach on all occasions, assiduous in giving satisfaction to all. At the age of 39 he takes second place to Premier Dunning as the youngest man to lead a Canadian Government.

The farmers of Western Canada may be considered to have come into their own. Their political future is now in their own hands. They had long been a vast unorganized army, giving every sort of Government a fair chance. Even when they organized, they declared against having anything to do with politics. Only when utterly dissatisfied and confident they could do better themselves did they turn their powerful organizations into brooms which swept away all opposition like feathers.

It is a triumph of Canadian democracy. It is a vindication of the Canadian ideal that the best lies in the land. That four working farmers, three of them penniless immigrant boys, should control the destinies of the larger half of the Canadian Dominion is sufficient to show that among the people of the West there is no class or caste. In the whole history of Canada there is no more striking example of what it offers as a new, developing country. It is a monument to Canada, the real Canada, as she is appearing politically and economically on the horizon of the world.

A NEW BRITISH SELF GOVERNING COLONY

SOUTHERN RHODESIA is the latest of Great Britain's colonies to acquire the status of a self-governing community under the British Crown. The referendum, which was held on Oct. 27, to decide whether Southern Rhodesia should become self-governing or be incorporated in the Union of South Africa, resulted in favor of autonomy by 8,774 votes to 5,989. So far the country has been governed by the British South Africa Company, under a Royal Charter granted in 1889. It is anticipated that arrangements will be made for the company to hand over the administration to the new responsible government in March. Northern Rhodesia will continue to be under the rule of the company.

The name Rhodesia (after the late Cecil Rhodes) applies to the whole of the region extending from the Transvaal Province northward to the border of the Congo State and former German East Africa, bounded on the east by Portuguese East

Africa, Nyassaland and German East Africa and on the west by the Congo State, Portuguese West Africa and Bechuanaland. The dividing line between Southern and Northern Rhodesia is the River Zambesi. The area of Southern Rhodesia is 148,575 square miles, with a white population of 33,500 and natives numbering 770,000. The two most important towns are Salisbury (the capital) and Bulawayo.

Southern Rhodesia has enormous possibilities of development because of its rich and varied pastoral, agricultural and mineral resources and a climate in which white people can live healthy and vigorous lives. Its needs are those of all young countries—adequate railway facilities, public works, extension of land settlement, and more population. The white inhabitants are almost entirely British by birth or descent, and for the most part wedded to the ideals which inspired Cecil Rhodes to add this valuable territory to the British Empire.

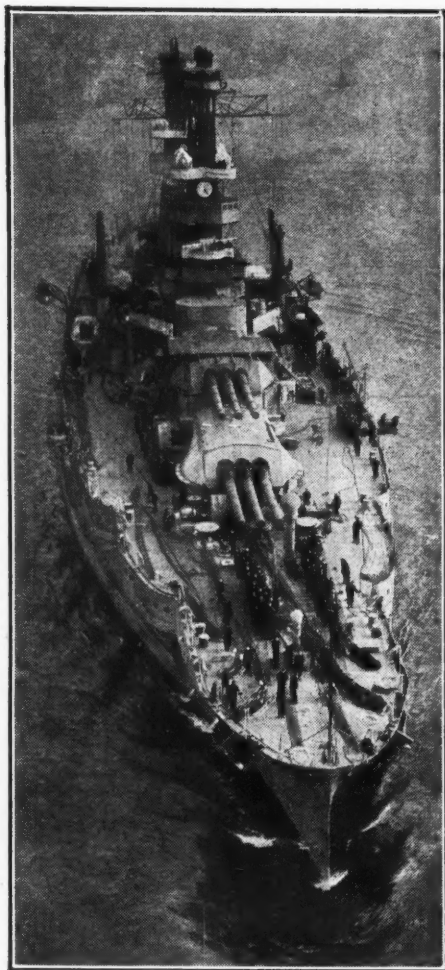
OUR NAVY UNREADY FOR WAR

By GRASER SCHORNSTHEIMER

Naval forces of the United States considerably below the 5-5-3 ratio agreed upon at the Washington conference—Serious condition due to inadequate funds and personnel

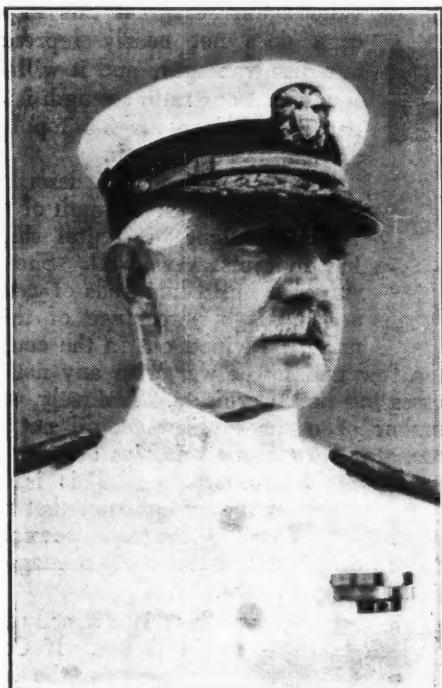
THERE can be no doubt that nations with a sea frontage and sea interests must have sea protection. The necessity for this naval force brings out the questions of its purpose, extent, resources and maintenance. The answers to these questions constitute the naval policy of the nation. It has often been said that America has no naval policy. To an extent this has been true. But in the abstract we have had a policy of sea defense ever since Washington undertook the establishment of our arms on a permanent basis. Though every President of the United States has, in turn, felt the need of a proper navy, none of them has given us a direct policy applicable to our situation for all times. We have always had reasons for maintaining our defense, but only recently has a policy been enunciated which establishes once and for all the extent of our forces, their maintenance and war resources.

When the proposals of our naval officers for the reduction of naval armaments on the basis of the ratio of existing strength were accepted and adopted by our delegates and finally issued to the Foreign Governments as the proposals or policy of the United States Government, our position in the matter of armaments of the future was assured. And it is a good policy for the United States, despite some slight flaws in its premise.



U. S. S. PENNSYLVANIA
Flagship of the Atlantic Fleet. Like other ships of the navy, it is undermanned at the present time

A nation's naval strength should be based on three things: First, the relative naval power of other nations; second, the geographical features of that nation's operating sphere, and third, the ability to maintain and operate the forces so acquired. The policy enunciated for the United States says that our navy shall not be inferior in number of ships, in material or personnel to that of any foreign nation, nor shall it be in the same way less than one and two-thirds times the strength of the second naval power. By applying this statement of policy to the present situation we get the following statement: The



ADMIRAL HILARY P. JONES
Commander-in-Chief of our Atlantic Fleet, and,
when joint manoeuvres are held, commander of
both the Atlantic and Pacific Fleets

United States shall have a navy equal to that of the British Empire, and one and two-thirds times the strength of the navy of Japan. This is the 5-5-3 ratio agreed upon at the Washington conference.

But with the material, numerical and maintenance advantages and equalities in force, America cannot be equal in power to the British Empire, nor can she have her advantage over Japan, for the simple reason that America is not insular like Great Britain or Japan, but continental, with two distinct and widely separated coast lines to defend. True, the Panama Canal to some extent mitigates this condition, but it does not abolish it. Proof of this is that, though Great Britain and Japan are maintaining united fleets, the United States is forced by her geographical position to maintain both an Atlantic and a Pacific fleet. It was possible to maintain a single fleet some years ago, before the rise of any

power which might menace our interests in the Pacific, but it is quite easy to see that a reversion to the old system would be a very serious mistake.

The Naval Treaty says that we shall maintain certain ships for a period of nineteen years, as must the other nations. The following is a list of our vessels:

Delaware	...20,000 tons, 21 knots, 10 12-inch guns*
N. Dakota	...20,000 tons, 21 knots, 10 12-inch guns*
Florida	....21,825 tons, 21 knots, 10 12-inch guns
Utah	.....21,825 tons, 21 knots, 10 12-inch guns
Arkansas	....26,000 tons, 21 knots, 12 12-inch guns
Wyoming	....26,000 tons, 21 knots, 12 12-inch guns
New York	....27,000 tons, 21 knots, 10 14-inch guns
Texas	.....27,000 tons, 21 knots, 10 14-inch guns
Oklahoma	....27,500 tons, 21 knots, 10 14-inch guns
Nevada	.....27,500 tons, 21 knots, 10 14-inch guns
Pennsylvania	31,400 tons, 21 knots, 12 14-inch guns
Arizona	....31,400 tons, 21 knots, 12 14-inch guns
Mississippi	...32,000 tons, 21 knots, 12 14-inch guns
Idaho	.....32,000 tons, 21 knots, 12 14-inch guns
New Mexico	...32,000 tons, 21 knots, 12 14-inch guns
California	...32,300 tons, 21 knots, 12 14-inch guns
Tennessee	...32,300 tons, 21 knots, 12 14-inch guns
Maryland	...32,600 tons, 21 knots, 8 16-inch guns†
W. Virginia	...32,600 tons, 21 knots, 8 16-inch guns†
Colorado	...32,600 tons, 21 knots, 8 16-inch guns†

*These vessels must be scrapped when the battleships West Virginia and Colorado enter the service.

†These ships are still under construction. We are completing them as compensation for the retention of the Mutsu by Japan. When completed, they will displace the Delaware and North Dakota, which, under the terms of the treaty must then be scrapped.

These capital ships, in point of aggregate displacements, fully maintain the ratio power of the United States. But a ship's displacement is not the test of its power. Great Britain is retaining nine vessels having speeds greater than twenty-five knots. Japan is retaining four vessels having speeds greater than twenty-seven knots. All of the Japanese ships have speeds in excess of twenty-two knots. Therefore, in establishing our ratio of power, we have given both Great Britain and Japan tremendous tactical advantages over us.

Great Britain's actual and existing treaty ratio of 5.

America's unmaintained treaty ratio of 5.

America's actual and existing strength of 3.5.

Japan's actual and existing treaty ratio of 3.

Strength of the powers in capital ships. The basis of the calculation is not aggregate tonnage, but fighting strength. The solid portion indicates ships built, the shaded portion ships building

Great Britain's actual and existing strength.

Great Britain's ratio strength of 5.

America's unmaintained treaty strength of 5.

Japan's actual and existing full treaty ratio strength of 3.

America's actual and existing strength, 2.9.

Strength of the powers in personnel applied to the treaty ratio. Efficiency and the number of the reserves have also been taken into consideration

INFERIOR GUN POWER

It will be seen that we have from four to six ships which carry no greater than 12-inch guns. No vessel to be retained by England carries less than 13.5-inch guns and no vessel to be retained by Japan carries less than 14-inch guns. Our 12-inch gun ships are outweighed and outranged by every British and Japanese capital ship. In battle, they could not stand in line to receive the blows of an enemy they could not reach. If they attempted to flee, the enemy battle cruisers, much faster and far more powerful, would very quickly run them down and sink them. Therefore, unable to give battle and unable to run, what value have they? They are simply death traps! And the painful part of it is that they represent a full 18 per cent. of our ratio strength!

Thus, because of the exact quality of America's material capital ship ratio our first line power is as four is to five for the British Empire and as four is to three for Japan. This is not at all the 5-5-3 demanded by our naval policy.

But there are other factors in this measure of our ratio strength. "Men fight, not ships." At present, because of the reductions in our naval personnel, it is possible to give our best ships only 90 per cent. of their rightful complements. This reduces the battle efficiency of every individual ship, and, therefore, our whole ratio of capital ships, just 10 per cent. Add this 10 per cent. to the 18 per cent. disadvantage of obsolete ships and add but 2 per cent. for the tactical disadvantages incidental to our lack of fast ships

(and I am sure that this 2 per cent. does not nearly represent our disadvantage), and it will be found that our ratio strength is 30 per cent. below our 5-5-3 policy and supposed strength.

The conditions just described not only affect the strength of the various nations in capital ships, but in cruisers as well. Should America build hundreds of cruisers, a large percentage of them might be wiped out in the course of a few months of war with any nation possessing battle cruisers. Inversely, any number of enemy cruisers could not be accounted for by our warships because of our lack of battle cruisers. This is, of course, based on the supposition that the nations will build equally powerful cruisers of the maximum treaty tonnage—10,000 standard tons.

To a certain extent there is a remedy for our lack in capital ship power. If Congress provides sufficient men for the full commissioning of all our battleships our power will be enhanced 10 per cent. But this will not relieve the situation.

Without discussing any of the causes which might lead to war in the Pacific, may I say that in such an event the United States would be unable to assert her right of self-defense more than 2,000 miles west of the Hawaiian group? Because of her weak relative strength to that of either Great Britain or Japan it would scarcely be safe to risk battle at even this 2,000-mile limit.

The construction of cruisers of a displacement of 10,000 standard tons or less and carrying not greater than 8-inch guns is not prohibited in the Naval Treaty. But in the original Hughes proposals is the application of the five-five-three ratio

Great Britain's 5 ratio and existing strength.

America's 5 ratio and unmaintained strength

America's actual and existing strength,

Japan's 3 ratio and existing strength.

Strength of the powers in number of cruisers. The solid portion represents ships built, the shaded portion ships building

to this class, but it was not carried into effect by the Naval Treaty. Because of this, those best informed on the subject consider that we are bound in policy to maintain the ratio in this class. We must remember, however, that our geographical position gives us different naval problems from those which confront Great Britain and Japan. Lacking battle cruisers as we do, we are deficient in the power to protect our merchant marine, which is the second largest in the world. The cruiser is unquestionably the best type for commerce raiding. Consider the record of the little German Emden of hardly 3,000 tons, 23 knots and carrying but 4.1-inch guns. The Emden destroyed more allied property than did any fifteen German submarines. If this little vessel, hounded by the British, French, Russian and Japanese Navies, could do this, what might we expect of a 10,000-ton, 36-knot ship armed with 8-inch guns, unopposed by a single American vessel more powerful possessing speed enough to catch her? Therefore, in some way to make up our full ratio in sea strength, it is my opinion that the United States should, perhaps, overbuild her exact ratio in cruisers, as this is not prohibited by the Naval Treaty.

NEED FOR CRUISERS

At present we have no cruisers comparable to those in foreign navies, and only ten vessels building. Great Britain, on the other hand, has fifty such vessels complete and four building. Japan has twenty-eight such vessels built, building or provided for. Our Congress has not provided for a single cruiser since 1916, when the above-mentioned vessels were authorized. It is to be seen that in order to maintain our ratio strength and admitted policy we should build at least forty more cruisers as soon as possible. If we are to make up in any way for our weaknesses in capital ships an additional twenty cruisers should be built.

It is claimed by some that our large de-

stroyer forces of some 300 ships counteracts our weakness in cruisers, to some extent. The facts do not seem to confirm this view. At present we are maintaining in commission some sixty-odd destroyers. Great Britain and Japan are maintaining twice as many, and have an adequate number in reserve. The American destroyers which are out of commission are deteriorating rapidly because of our pressing lack of men to keep them in proper shape. Considering our curtailed personnel, we are maintaining in commission an extremely large force of destroyers in the sixty ships already mentioned. Not having the cruisers to send on foreign service—and, if we

did, not enough men to commission them—the Navy Department is forced to detail destroyers to this duty. Consequently, the greater part of our destroyer force is in foreign waters. At present there are twenty boats in European waters and about ten in our Asiatic squadron. A destroyer is a small ship, but it is better than

Great Britain	
United States	
Japan	

War efficiency strength of the powers, calculated not only with reference to the number and types of ships and the number of men, regular and in reserve, but bases, their condition and extent and the conditions in probable theatres of war

no ship at all. If this statement needs amplification, it is to be found in the fact that one of our destroyers, scarcely larger than a good-sized tug, removed 600 refugees from Smyrna. The average transatlantic liners carry approximately only the same number of passengers! Every business man will certainly agree that every organization needs its head, or leader. Yet our destroyer forces have no flotilla leaders. Every other nation in the world already possesses numbers of vessels of the leader type, and most of them are even building further vessels. But Congress has repeatedly refused such ships when they have been asked for by the Navy Department.

As we have accepted a certain force of battleships as our first line of defense for a period of ten years, and as this force is weaker than our prescribed naval strength, it is apparent that in the event of war with two powers, one in the Atlantic and the other in the Pacific, we must exert our combined forces against first

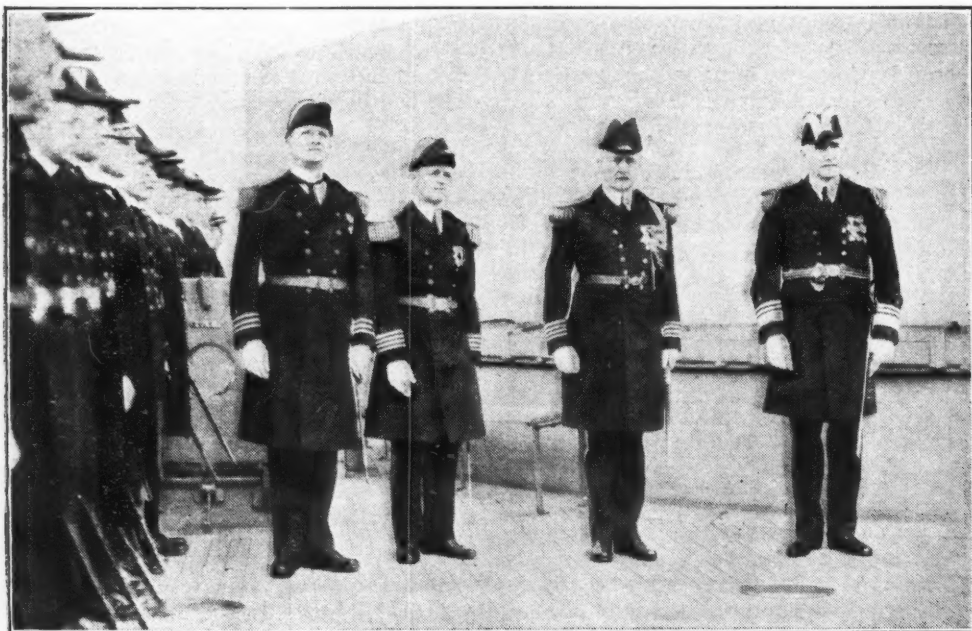
one and then the other. But while our fleet is combined and in action against one power, is the enemy to have an open road?

The best defense is not the passive defense but the smashing offense. However, if our offensive power is, by force of necessity, removed from the path of an enemy attack, we are bound to use every means of passive defense in our grasp. And possibly the best means of passive defense lies in the submarine. A fleet of submarines can never hope to go to sea and defeat a powerful force of surface ships. Germany tried just this method and failed. But submarines are an excellent deterrent. No wise commander will ever attempt to force a landing in the face of submarine resistance; nor will he attempt an attack on a harbor defended by submarines. As the French claimed at the conference, the submarine is the best defense of the weaker nation. And they might have added that the submarine was the best passive defense of the nation with great and extended coast lines. For this reason the United States maintains a force of submarines relatively larger than her force of surface ships. Some are as-

signed to the Philippines, some to Pearl Harbor, several distinct forces to the Pacific and Atlantic coasts and the Panama Canal Zone.

These vessels range in surface displacement from 450 to 900 tons. Those now in commission are quite modern vessels which should give a good account of themselves in extremities. However, it is possible to use the smaller and older submarines for the defense of various cities and harbors. At present, though most of them require only a dozen officers and men, the lack of personnel prohibits their maintenance. As a result they are rapidly deteriorating and some have already been scrapped.

More than a score of the boats of the 1916 program are still on the stocks and progressing slowly, due to the curtailed Congressional appropriations for naval construction. When these newer and somewhat larger boats are complete many of those now in service will have to be placed out of commission, and if adequate maintenance funds are not provided these boats, which are today entirely efficient and in service, will pass quickly to the scrap pile.



Vice Admiral Andrew T. Long taking command of the United States squadron in European waters. He is shown at the extreme right at the actual moment of his flag being raised

All our submarines are of the torpedo type, that is, their prime weapon is the torpedo. Especially valuable for coast-defense work is the mine-laying submarine. Because of our geographical position it is easy to see that this type is very necessary to our service. On the best authority I can say that the Navy Department plans to ask Congress for these mine layers at the next session.

FLEET SUBMARINES

At present we have no fleet submarines in our service worthy of the name. A fleet submarine is a very large vessel, comparatively speaking, capable of cruising with the surface fleet. The armament consists of torpedoes, guns and mines, and, in the case of the newest Japanese fleet submarines, the top deck and conning tower are armored against light shells such as were used against submarines in the late war. At present there are but three very doubtful vessels of this type in the United States Navy and but three other vessels of this type under construction. In addition to these vessels building, six others are projected, authorized by Congress in 1916. However, ever since the authorization Congress has refused to provide any funds for the construction of the very ships it sanctioned, despite the urgent requests of the Navy Department.

The cruiser-submarine is another type which has yet to make its appearance in our service. It was brought into existence during the war by the Germans as a raider of commerce. It is generally supposed that the treaty on methods of warfare, formulated at the Washington conference, does away with the possibilities of submarine attacks on merchant types. However, in the naval treaty there is a condition which was earnestly sought by Great Britain by which merchant types may have the necessary deck stiffening to carry six-inch guns. This, it would seem, suggests that in the future merchant ships will be called upon to resist attacks. A vessel capable of resisting an attack is capable of making an attack. And if merchant vessels are armed in future wars they will be attacked. France, it is understood, has already taken this position, and other nations may be expected to follow her ex-

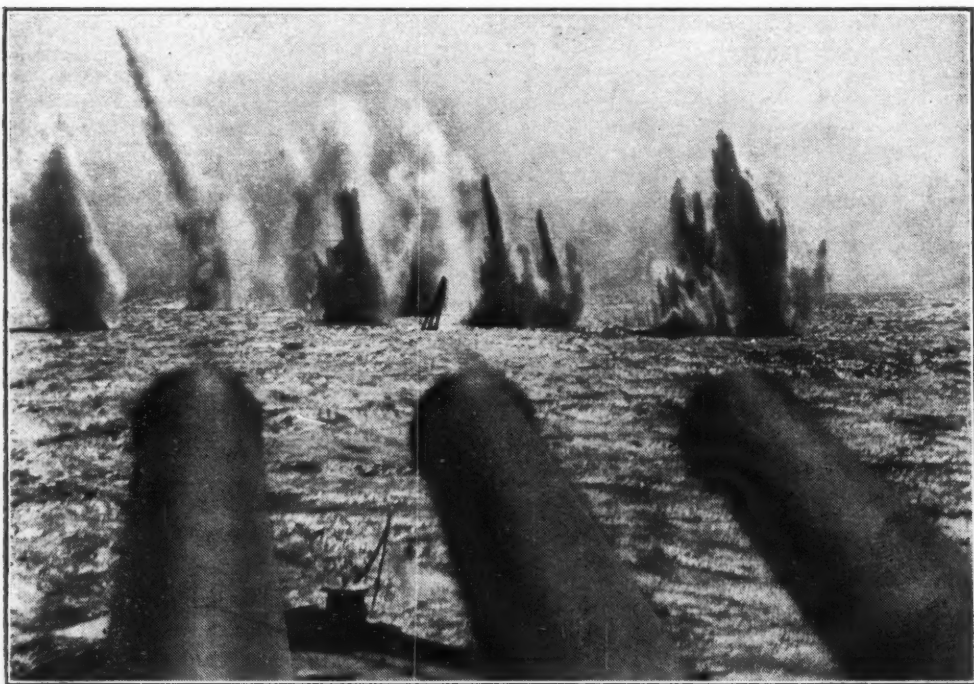
ample. Great Britain and Japan cannot be expected to agree to this. Their insular position may at some time force them to arm merchant ships in an attempt to force their way through an enemy's submarine blockade in order to obtain food.

The conditions of the international ratio cannot be taken to apply to gunboats. There were no limitations imposed on this type at the conference, and in the original American proposals gunboats were specifically absolved from numerical limitations. The gunboats are for peace-time duties primarily. They are small, roomy, lightly armed and slow-moving transports for the suppression of minor disturbances. A single line of little type is capable of destroying such vessels in thousands. America's interest in them is purely political. The Monroe Doctrine is one of the greatest of our national policies. If minor disturbances in either of the Americas are allowed to warrant European or Asiatic intervention, then the peace of the United States is seriously threatened. The gunboats, in handling these minor "affairs," effectively maintain the peace.

The policy of the United States Navy in subsidiary and depot ships is settled by the extent of our fighting forces. For instance, a repair ship, a floating repair ship, having forges, lathes, drills and other mechanical equipment, is necessary to maintain every two divisions of four battleships each. At present we are maintaining eighteen battleships in commission and using three repair ships. Further repair ships are needed for our destroyer, submarine and cruiser forces, but the need is not felt because we are not maintaining all of our smaller fighting ships in service and we have no cruisers.

In a recent talk before the House Naval Committee Secretary Denby explained to the members how our largest submarine depots were capable of caring for eight of our large S type submarines. While we have too few submarine depots to maintain our whole force, it might be well to refit some of the vessels of the Shipping Board, having the proper characteristics, rather than build entirely new vessels, if Congress will provide the funds.

The same general conditions already mentioned apply to destroyer depots, store



Guns, such as are shown in this picture taken during target practice, are an all-important factor in computing the real strength of the navy

ships and other general maintenance types. Fuel ships represent a somewhat different problem, since we are not permitted to build proper fueling facilities in the Western Pacific. We should have a fleet of tankers and colliers capable of refueling our entire fleet. Thus we might be able to operate our entire force at quite a distance from its bases. Of course, with all the fuel ships necessary, we could not maintain a fleet far from a base indefinitely because of the necessities of docking and of more extensive repairs than are possible by means of the repair ships.

THE PERSONNEL QUESTION

Ships alone are useless. A well trained and efficient personnel is as necessary to our navy as it is to all others. At present there are but 86,000 men in our service, and this number is entirely inadequate for the work the navy is called upon to do. The general impression is that every man in the service is aboard some vessel. This is far from true. It is necessary to have 500 men ashore to maintain every thou-

sand afloat. In the British and Japanese navies from 600 to 700 men are ashore to every thousand afloat. But this comparison is misleading. The reason is that we must keep the greatest possible number of ships in service if we are to maintain the prestige and authority of the United States. Even with the ships now in service, it is to be seen that our navy is not up to foreign standards. To the end of maintaining the greatest possible number of fighting ships in commission, the department has reduced the shore establishment to the very bone and placed every available man aboard ship. Yet our full ratio of battleships lack 10 per cent. of its strength, due to this policy of "stretching out" the personnel.

The Navy Department, I am informed, intends to ask for but 96,000 men for the next fiscal year. This seems to be an absolute confession of weakness on the part of the department; for the established policy of the navy is to have a personnel equal to the British and five-thirds of the Japanese. If the terms of the ratio are

to be carried into effect, we should have a naval personnel of not less than 113,000 men.

But all this concerns only the peace-time operations of the navy. If war comes we will have only a few men in excess of our regular personnel. We have practically no reserve. During the war an excellent naval reserve force was built up, but Congress has dispensed with it. At the same time Great Britain and Japan have each an excellently trained reserve of about 50,000 men.

The organization of a new reserve is, however, at present under consideration by the Navy Department. The size of this reserve can be limited only by the number of men necessary to supplement the regular navy upon the mobilization of the total fleet and all its auxiliaries. This would indicate that eventually a reserve approximately three-quarters the size of the regular service must be trained and maintained.

Just as the reserve is an emergency organization backing up our regular navy, the department should prepare other forms of defenses to reinforce the material of the navy. Once war has been declared, there is no naval treaty to curb a nation's ability to defend itself. But our navy is not ready for war.

GOVERNMENT POLICY STATED

[Secretary Denby's annual report to the President, which was made public on Dec. 3, contains the following statement:

"The following was adopted as the fundamental naval policy of the United States.

"The navy of the United States should be maintained in sufficient strength to support its policies and its commerce and to guard its continental and overseas possessions. It is believed that this policy is sound and not subject to question. It should be true for all times and under all conditions. Having in view the terms of the treaty for limitation of naval armament, it became necessary to adopt a general policy as to strength which would conform to the terms of that agreement. While it is true that the ratios adopted by the conference were made to apply to capital ships and plane carriers only, the

department considered that it was the intention of the conferees that the ratio of 5-5-3 should apply to the relative total strengths of the navies concerned. It therefore adopted the following general naval policy:

"To create, maintain and operate a navy second to none and in conformity with the ratios for capital ships established by the treaty for limitation of naval armaments.

"This policy should hold until such time as other powers, by their departure from the idea of suspended competition in naval armament, indicate other procedure. Until such time the navy of the United States may be governed in naval strength by the spirit of the capital ships ratios. Otherwise it will be necessary, appropriately, to readjust our naval policy. In elaboration of the general policy laid down above, a number of detailed policies were prepared. A few of the most important follow:

"To make the capital ship ratios the basis of building effort in all classes of fighting ships.

"To direct the principal air effort on that part of the air service that is to operate from ships of the fleet.

"To assemble the active fleet at least once a year for a period of not less than three months.

"To maintain an active personnel afloat in conformity with the ratios for capital ships established by the treaty for the limitation of naval armaments.

"To maintain the Marine Corps personnel at a strength sufficient to meet current requirements.

"To make every effort, both ashore and afloat, at home and abroad, to assist the development of American interests and especially the American merchant marine.

"To create, organize and train a Naval Reserve force sufficient to provide the supplementary personnel necessary to mobilize the fleet and all its auxiliaries.

"To make the Naval Reserve secure in its status and organization as a part of the navy and to guard its interests.

"To cultivate a close association of officers of the active navy and of the Naval Reserve.

"To give to the public all information not incompatible with military secrecy.

"To have always in mind that a system of outlying naval and commercial bases suitably distributed, developed and defended is one of the most important elements of national strength.

"This policy should be accomplished as soon as consistent with our economic situation."

KEEPING TYPHUS OUT OF AMERICA

By JAMES A. TOBEY

Washington Representative of the National Health Council

A disease caused by personal uncleanness—Menace of its spread through immigration—How American health officers cope with the dangers of infection brought in ships—A national problem

A DISEASE which numbers its victims by the hundreds of thousands during one epidemic is a serious menace to civilization. Such a disease is typhus fever, the much-dreaded "red cloak," as it was named by the Spaniards in 1557. During the World War and since its close, typhus has ravaged Europe as has no other pestilence for many decades. So far, this country has escaped any threatening outbreak of typhus, but immigrants are constantly coming to the United States from areas in Europe where the disease is endemic. To prevent the introduction of typhus into this country requires continual vigilance on the part of the sanitarians of the Federal Government. During the next few months these efforts must be redoubled, for typhus is a cold-weather disease, and generally increases as Winter comes.

What is typhus? In the first place, it should not be confused with typhoid fever, for, in spite of the similarity of names, the two are entirely distinct. The mode of transmission of typhus fever has been known since 1909, but the actual cause has only recently been discovered. Typhus is spread only by the bite of lice (pediculi), which have previously bitten an infected person. The germ causing the disease, and which is carried by the lice, is a micro-organism known as the *Rickettsia prowazeki*. The most recent studies on the cause, or etiology, as it is called by scientists, were made by a commission sent to Poland by the League of Red Cross Societies in 1920. The disease does not become apparent until from five to twenty-one days after the louse bite, an interval which is known as the incubation period. The on-

set is then abrupt, with a rapid rise in temperature. The fever averages about two weeks, and its course is characterized by great nervous excitement, followed by delirium. On the fourth or fifth day a rash in the form of dull red spots breaks out all over the body. About one case in five is fatal, though in many epidemics the disease is mild and the number of deaths may not be over 10 per cent. of the cases. The virulence of the disease varies greatly in different epidemics.

Since typhus is spread by lice, it is naturally more or less of a filth disease. Indeed, it has been said that "the history of typhus is the history of human wretchedness." War has always been a fertile breeder of epidemics of typhus, and the last war was no exception. Ever since the war typhus has been present to a greater or less degree in Europe, though at present there are fewer cases than in previous years. It is still prevalent enough, however, to be a menace to the United States. According to the latest statistics there are several thousand cases in Poland and several hundred in Russia; cases are also reported in Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Greece, Rumania, Palestine, Spain, Turkey and Yugoslavia. Several hundred cases occur weekly in Mexico. Moreover, the reports as received here are probably incomplete.

IMMIGRANTS FROM DISEASE CENTRES

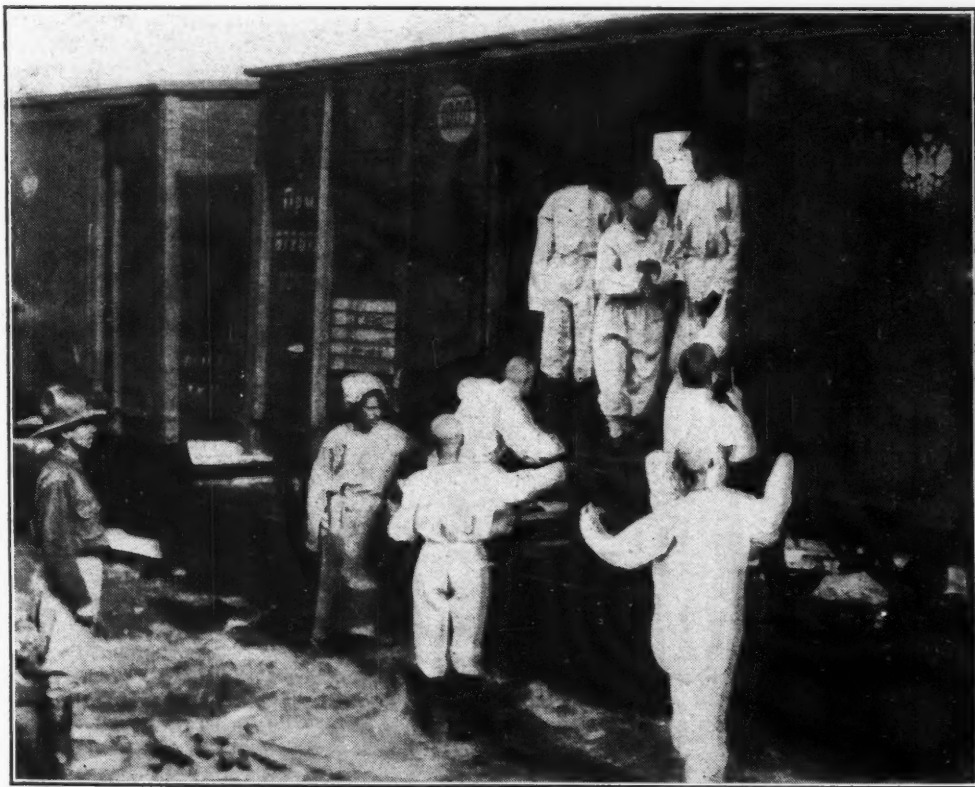
From each of these countries comes a stream of immigrants every month, though happily less than in former days. According to the figures of the United States

Bureau of Immigration, the monthly quota from Poland is 4,215; from Russia it is 4,323, and from the other countries mentioned the number of aliens admissible monthly is as follows: Austria, 1,490; Bulgaria, 61; Czechoslovakia, 2,871; Germany, 13,521; Greece, 659; Rumania, 1,484; Palestine, 12; Spain, 182; Turkey, 478, and Yugoslavia, 1,285. In other words, each month, out of a total of 71,561 immigrants allowed to enter the United States, a large proportion come directly from districts where dangerous epidemic diseases are existent. Typhus is not the only disease these aliens have either left behind or brought along, for cholera, plague and smallpox are prevalent abroad. Plague is not particularly rampant outside of China, India and Egypt, where it always exists, while cholera, serious in India and prevalent to a certain extent in the Philippines, is only sporadic in Europe. It is typhus which is the most dangerous enemy of international health.

The formidable line of defense against the introduction of any communicable disease into this country is the United States Public Health Service. The functions of this Government bureau include:

1. Protecting the United States from the importation of disease.
2. Preventing the interstate spread of disease.
3. Co-operating with State and local health authorities.
4. Supervising biological products.
5. Investigating disease.
6. Educating the public in sanitary science.

Officers of the service are stationed at all the seaports of the country, and also on the Mexican border. There are sixty-four such quarantine stations, all but eleven of which are at seaports. During 1921 the medical officers of the service inspected 28,016 vessels and 2,395,244 passengers and crews at the maritime stations. At the border stations 64,056 travelers were inspected. There were detained 3,949



A train in Russia used by the American Red Cross for cleansing and treating typhus patients



(© Harris & Ewing)

ASSISTANT SURGEON GENERAL
RUPERT BLUE

In charge of the United States medical organization in Europe which inspects emigrant ships bound for this country

vessels, either because of disease on board or because the vessel came from an infected port; 9,963 vessels were fumigated or disinfected. Of the number of passengers detained the largest number, 38,389, were held on account of typhus. A close second was smallpox, for which 32,329 persons were detained. There were actually discovered 95 cases of typhus on 15 infected vessels.

Not only must measures be taken in American seaports, but medical officers must also be stationed at foreign ports. It is, obviously, more efficient to detect a disease carrier before he leaves Europe than to stop him after he has reached our shores and possibly infected others during the voyage. Accordingly, officers of the Public Health Service are assigned to American consulates in foreign ports. At

present twenty-eight officers are on duty in twenty-six ports, under the general supervisory direction of Assistant Surgeon General Rupert Blue, whose office is in Paris. The Department of State has instructed all Consuls to refuse to issue bills of health to vessels unless satisfactory typhus preventive measures are carried out and approved by the medical officers. Vessels arriving at European ports bound for America are held for twelve days, if they do not already have a bill of health issued or countersigned by a Public Health Service officer, and they must also undergo a delousing procedure. Passengers who are shown by inspection to be verminous are required to be disinfected. At some ports as many as 75 per cent. of the persons about to embark are verminous. In fact, a large proportion of the steerage class from Poland and Russia are so accustomed to lice that they object strenuously to losing them. In many cases the bath these passengers are given is the first of their lives. Sometimes louse-infested clothing is surreptitiously hidden and escapes sterilization, only to cause trouble later on. The difficulties of the quarantine officers are numerous and formidable.

PRECAUTIONS TAKEN ABROAD

The European ports where officers have been stationed include Danzig, Christiania, Göteborg, Copenhagen, Libau, Hamburg, Bremen, Rotterdam, Antwerp, Havre, Cherbourg, Liverpool, London, Barcelona, Trieste, Naples, Messina, Palermo, Piraeus and Constantinople. Since it is not practical to station officers in various small places where only a few hundred passengers might be taken on during a month, the co-operation of the American Consul is enlisted in these ports. He induces the steamship company to appoint a local physician as inspector, and sees to it that the individual selected is one in whom he has confidence. Any attempt to evade our quarantine regulations is promptly reported. The steamship companies realize, moreover, the desirability and even necessity of carrying only healthy passengers. At times, the temptation to rush and overcrowd on the part of the companies is almost irresistible, but the long arm of the law casts an ominous

shadow, and compliance is deemed to be better than difficulties with the authorities. Last February a conference of representatives of American and foreign steamship companies with the Public Health Service officers was held in Paris, and the steamship representatives were informed as to the typhus situation and the measures for its control.

What has been the result of these precautions? About a year ago a number of sensational articles appeared in the press concerning the appearance of typhus in the port of New York. These newspaper accounts created considerable unwarranted alarm, but probably did no harm in focussing the attention of the public on the dangers of disease from lice and from the dirtiness of incoming aliens in general. The whole incident arose over the arrival of two ships early in February, the *Presidente Wilson* and the *San Guisto* from Trieste. For some reason no preventive measures had been taken there; on its arrival the *Presidente Wilson* had four cases of typhus, and during its detention period in New York seventeen additional cases developed. There were six cases on the *San Guisto*, and twenty secondary cases occurred. None of these infected cases ever landed until completely free from the disease and a rigid quarantine had been enforced. The result of the sanitary efforts of the Public Health Service in Europe and America has undoubtedly been of the utmost value in keeping out many cases of this dread disease. Had they not been constantly on the job, it is possible that we might have seen an epidemic of typhus in this country. There have been several such epidemics in the past, notably in New York in 1881-1882, and again in 1892-1893. There were severe epidemics following the Irish immigrations in 1846 and 1847.

An epidemic of typhus fever is no insignificant thing. There have been about 150 particularly virulent ones in history. The disease, having always been an accompaniment of the most grievous calamities of nations, was undoubtedly a conspicuous one long before medical chronicles became reliable. Many of the pestilences of antiquity and the middle ages were probably typhus. As early as 1490

epidemics of typhus were reported in Lorraine and in Spain, where the disease had been borne by soldiers from the Venetian army in Cyprus during the war of Ferdinand against the Moors. The Spaniards later gave it the name of *el tabardillo* (the much-dreaded "red cloak"). Typhus forced Emperor Charles V. to raise the siege of Metz in 1552 and caused Maximilian II. of Hungary to make peace with the Turks in 1566. During the Thirty Years War in the seventeenth century, the devastation was so great that whole districts were entirely depopulated. The disease died out about 1720 but returned in 1734 and ravaged Central and Eastern Europe for ten years. Starting with the Seven Years War in 1757, it spread all over Germany, France and Spain and lasted until 1775. Extensive epidemics occurred in Italy in 1764 and 1767. The French Revolution started another flare-up of typhus, and it remained prevalent throughout the Napoleonic wars, spreading all over Europe again and resulting in the most serious epidemic of the disease recorded on the continent. The Crimean War (1854-6), the Russo-Turkish War (1877-8) and the recent Balkan wars were all accompanied by disastrous outbreaks of typhus.

TERRIBLE EPIDEMICS

One of the worst of the modern typhus epidemics was that which took place in Serbia in 1915. Over 150,000 deaths occurred during six months, and all military operations of the Serbian army were completely disrupted. The advance of the Central Powers against this country was also delayed. Hospitals and prison camps were overcrowded and sanitary conditions became intolerable. The American Red Cross sent a commission, headed by Dr. R. P. Strong of Harvard, which did much remarkable work in coping with the situation. Bathing and louse disinfection were carried out on a national scale. Since about one out of every five of the Serbian people had contracted the disease, the vastness of the task is apparent. It was further complicated by national characteristics, which, among the peasantry, included an abhorrence of ablution. The epidemic was finally conquered, though not without

heroic efforts and some loss of life on the part of those combating it.

On account of the fact that typhus is so highly contagious, it is particularly dangerous to physicians and nurses. When the Americans arrived in Serbia, it was no unusual thing to find half of the doctors in a hospital sick with the disease themselves. A number of the American personnel were also stricken. Sir Thomas Lipton, who was active in relief work in Serbia, has called Dr. James F. Donnelly, who died fighting typhus at Ghevghili, one of the greatest heroes of the war. Dr. Ernest P. Magruder, unremitting in his labors to succor the sick, also succumbed. Three other American physicians, Drs. Albert S. Cooke, John M. Kara and Leon Weiss, laid down their lives. Self-sacrifice has ever been one of the heroic attributes of the men of the medical profession. Not long ago the following passage appeared in the National Medical Journal of China for March, 1921, written by Dr. W. W. Peter: "One night, some ten years ago, ten of the leading men in Hwei Yuan Hsien, Annwei, walked through the dark streets of the city to worship in the city temple. It was about mid-

night and they went to implore the gods to save the life of the foreign doctor who lay at the point of death from famine (typhus) fever. They made a vow, promising that if his life should be spared by the gods, each one of them would willingly have his own life shortened by one year." Many scientists have also laid down their lives in research on typhus. Here are the names, lest we forget: Conneff, Cornet, Jochmann, Luthje, von Prowazek, Ricketts and Schussler.

Poland is another country which has had a terrific experience with typhus. Beginning in 1916, the disease lasted until 1921 and has only lately diminished. The Russian sanitary authorities did nothing to cope with the pandemic, and when Poland became a nation her Prime Minister, Mr. Paderewski, appealed to the President of the United States for help. Mr. Wilson sent a typhus relief expedition in charge of Colonel H. L. Gilchrist of the Army Medical Corps, who was attached to the Polish Ministry of Health. The League of Red Cross Societies and the American Red Cross also rendered assistance. The League of Nations likewise became interested and



Overcrowding is one of the most serious contributing causes of the spread of typhus. This two-room hut in Eastern Galicia was occupied during the epidemic by all the persons shown in the photograph, comprising three families



A typical instance of the typhus epidemic in Poland. Every member of the family inhabiting this cottage was infected, the father dying the day on which this photograph was taken

issued early in 1920 an appeal for funds, to which twenty-three governments responded. The League appointed a health committee, which is still one of its most important activities. Thus, co-ordinated effort against typhus was achieved in Poland, and cases fell from 157,000 in 1920 to 45,000 in 1921. The number of cases in Russia and Rumania was similarly reduced. Many American physicians have been martyrs to the disease in Poland.

On our own continent typhus has long been prevalent. It was imported into South America from Spain as early as 1821, and epidemics have occurred in Peru and Chile. In Mexico the disease became epidemic in 1530, shortly after the Conquest, and again in 1570. In 1734-36 some 189,000 people are said to have died from typhus in Mexico. Numerous other epidemics have taken place there, a particularly serious one in 1861. In Mexico the disease is now known as Brill's disease. The latest reports, probably incomplete, reveal several hundred cases. The quarantine methods by the Public Health Service on our border have already been described. In the United States there was some typhus during the Civil War, though statistics are so poor for that

period that we do not know just how much there was. In 1921, 143 cases of typhus were reported in twelve States, with 17 deaths. There were 38 cases in New York city, with 4 deaths. An epidemic occurred on an Indian reservation in the arid Southwest during 1920 and 1921 with 63 cases and 27 deaths.

Typhus fever is a world-wide problem. Disease knows no boundaries and, once started on a career of devastation, can be checked only by tremendous expenditures of energy, money and lives. The United States is now spending many millions in European relief through such agencies as the American Relief Committee, the American Red Cross and the American Friends' Service Committee, as well as through the Government. Perhaps one of the sanest suggestions is that no relief should be extended, except to those who are physically clean. A slogan of "No food to the filthy" would do much to awaken a true sanitary consciousness. Whatever else may be the attitude of this country with respect to participation in international affairs, it cannot ever turn its back upon the greatest of all disasters of war or peace—the continuing disaster of disease.

MENACE OF THE DRUG MANIA

By DR. PETER H. BRYCE

Causes of the increased use of narcotics to be found in social conditions—How victims of bad habits should be dealt with—The case against institutional treatment of individuals—Importance of education to bring reform

IT has not been till quite recently that public attention has been seriously directed to the increasing use of narcotics on this continent. Opium commissions under pressure of social public opinion have been appointed in the past by the British Government to study the opium problem in India, and have brought in rather noncommittal reports as to the evil effects of the drug on the individual. In 1911 Mr. Taft, then Governor of the Philippines, appointed a commission to investigate the prevalence of the use of opium, especially among the Chinese, in those islands and extended the study to China and Japan. It was found that in their Chinese possession, Formosa, the Japanese regulated in quite a remarkable manner the growth, importation and sale of the drug by means of a careful registration of every purchase. When similar regulations were passed by Mr. Taft in the Philippines, it was found that those using opium neglected very generally to register as the condition of obtaining it, trusting rather to getting a supply from secret sources.

Evidence such as that obtained by Mr. Taft, together with the agitation which resulted in the passing of the Harrison act by Congress in the year 1914 in the United States, served to bring out a series of facts, which, until regulation of the sale has been attempted, would never have been known, while the effects of the use of opium would never have been appreciated. There are those who say that drug addiction has greatly increased in recent years, that the traffic in forbidden drugs is enormously greater since the prohibition of alcohol has been enacted, just as they say bootlegging in the matter of alcohol

has similarly increased. An examination of the customs reports for the United States and Canada would, however, seem to indicate the need for great care in drawing positive conclusions. Thus in 1907 Canada imported 1,523 ounces of morphine and in 1917 some 30,000 ounces, but while in 1907 she imported 67,064 pounds of opium and in 1908 88,013, the amount thereafter gradually decreased to only 1,741 pounds in 1916. As Canada received her supply from several sources it is found that in 1918 she got 1,913 pounds of crude opium from the United States, 2,853 from Persia and from the British Empire 7,705, or only 12,471 pounds in all as compared with that in 1907. Again in 1921 the United States imported 508,773 ounces of opium and 164,203 ounces of morphine, and it was further estimated that only 10 per cent. of this amount was used for medicinal purposes. The estimate was made by an American committee recently that there were anywhere between 1,000,000 and 4,000,000 persons in the United States who were drug addicts; but it is obvious that in the very nature of the case, such estimates are mere conjectures.

The problem of the drug addict and of the traffic in drugs has recently been given prominence in Canada in a volume entitled "The Black Candle," by Judge Emily F. Murphy, Police Magistrate of Edmonton, who quotes the Department of Health as saying that "it would astound the people of the country and the authorities in many towns and cities if the conditions as they exist were brought to light." While the legitimate importation of narcotics to Canada since the act of 1919 was passed has been reduced, it is stated, by 95 per cent., yet it is asserted that the un-

licensed traffic has become most alarming. Thus for the fiscal year ended March 31, 1922, the Federal Government prosecuted 23 doctors, 11 druggists, 4 veterinary surgeons, 165 illicit dealers and 634 Chinese, and obtained fines amounting to \$127,947. The municipal convictions for Vancouver, B. C., increased from 293 in 1918 to 858 in 1921. Further, a Western prairie city of 30,000 had nearly 50 persons, mostly drug peddlers, convicted by the Dominion police.

The figures which have been given for the United States and Canada have necessarily come from those officials engaged in suppressing the traffic and need not be questioned; but as regards the actual increase in drug addiction, it must be remembered that convictions made under carefully administered acts, as in the case of prohibition convictions, often give a very wrong impression, since any moral, law-abiding and well-governed community would always appear worse than one where prosecutions are not made or are very few.

WHY HAVE DRUG ADDICTS INCREASED?

Experience teaches the close relation between conduct and environment, and the history of a hundred years in America tells of a society which grew up largely upon a basis of justice and liberty to all. During the early part of last century, however, a wholly new set of social relations was gradually established. Immigration brought enormous numbers of people in various stages of civilization to this continent. Settlement extended across the continent to the Pacific through the construction of railroads on which immigrants were largely employed. Great cities grew up on every hand, which in a country with a universal franchise provided the opportunity in many cases for influences inimical to the interests of the community at large in regard to both morals and politics. With all this came riches and luxury, and the dominating influence of capital for good was often offset by combinations of wealth for unsocial and selfish ends. Even though the force majeure of war has given a sanction to prohibition, yet it did not and could not counteract the rapid increase of wealth and the orgies growing

out of profiteering and the hysterias of an excited and over-wrought public sentiment. Moreover, we see today more than half of the population urbanized and new social problems created as well as new duties arising. The intensity of life increases, but with that probably a more than counter-balancing evolution of checks, economic, social and religious.

Among so many social problems this new one of drug addiction has come to the surface. Though it existed, however, before, the statistics show that it is now too serious and too prevalent to be ignored. Accepting the figures quoted at their face value, it is not difficult to see that their meaning is measured on the one hand by enthusiasts engaged in fighting drug addiction, and on the other by those who see in the agitation created by newspaper publicity only another propaganda with its opportunity for gaining both notoriety and profit. None can doubt this who has followed the various agitations resulting in Federal legislation both in the United States and Canada for restricting the importation of drugs, and the State legislation for regulating their sale and administration. That the problem has to be dealt with is obvious; but like the venereal disease problem it is plain that no mere regulation for vice restriction will prove adequate until the people as a whole have risen to such a moral plane that the individual will learn that control of impulse, which gradually begets character and proper conduct, and which gives to modern society its true ethical quality. To say, because degenerates and immoral persons tend toward license in the matter of alcohol or of drug addiction, that the forces for good in society and its laws should be either repealed or modified, would be as foolish as to assume that the untrained impulses of the child mind should be allowed to go unguided and then to expect good conduct and high character to grow upon this unstable foundation.

It was on such considerations as these that the American Public Health Association Committee based the recommendations contained in its report of 1921. That report states: "The differing ideas as to the classification of addicts, their total and relative frequency, the dangers to the

community arising from their existence and the present and proposed methods of treatment have been investigated." As a result of this study the committee reported:

1. The group of addicts variously spoken of as criminals, degenerates and feeble-minded, are unwilling and unable to co-operate in the necessary treatment and should be kept under official control. In the opinion of your committee the control of this group is essentially a police matter.

2. The group of addicts who suffer from physical conditions necessitating an indefinite and continued use of the drug constitute a medical problem.

3. Further, the group of addicts in whom the clinical condition, which was the reason for beginning the use of the drug, no longer exists, or who began the addiction for other than clinical reasons are also a medical problem.

It will be noted that in this carefully worded report no general discussion of drug addiction from a social standpoint is attempted, while the practical phases of the problem from the scientific standpoint are temperately but clearly set forth. Obviously, however, in an association where preventive medicine has been promoted for fifty years some pronouncement was logically demanded. Hence the report pointed out: First, that international measures leading to the reduction and control of the supply of imported drugs be taken; second, that the importance of the education of the physician as to the dangers of inducing addiction through medical practice and as to the best methods of avoiding such methods be emphasized; third, that in view of the present unsatisfactory state of the medical problem and of the very diverse opinions existing as to its bearing upon legislation and police regulations, the committee believes it to be in the public interest that a research committee of clinicians, biochemists and psychiatrists should be appointed with official sanction to investigate all phases of the question and to report.

HOW TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM

These recommendations must appeal to all who carefully consider the difficulties involved, since they clearly discriminate while demanding the full control of the trade in and use of narcotic drugs. Manifestly the control of the importation and sale of the drugs is the first and most im-

portant step in preventing their illegitimate use would depend primarily upon an educated public opinion as to the proper limitations and use of the drugs imported for medicinal purposes.

The extent of the police problem in the case of criminals and degenerates is very wide; but its solution depends upon a still more serious problem, that of dealing with the 2 per cent. of feeble-minded persons in most modern communities who are unable through lack of intelligence and will to resist suggestions leading to immoral results. In practice almost no means for the institutional control and education of such defectives exists in most of our States and provinces, and until such is effected immorality and drug addiction in their various forms will continue. If such defectives are allowed to procreate, then the vicious circle of degenerates to be dealt with, whether as criminals or as drug-addicts, will continue to widen. In the matter of those youths, whether male or female, who choose from curiosity, dissipation or exhausted nerves to cultivate the sensations got from drugs, it is plain that nothing except the most wholesome restraints of an educated and moral society will prove adequate to prevent indulgence in this or any other conduct which is abnormal. As regards the class which newspapers are constantly stressing as being numerous, namely, physicians, druggists, nurses, even Judges and lawyers who are said to be secret drug addicts, it would be idle for any physician privileged to know either to deny or minimize their importance; but while such are too often family problems and even tragedies, it may fairly be said that to society at large they are among the least dangerous forms of departure from normal conduct.

What, then, shall be done with these drug addicts, or, rather, what shall we do for them? Most every-day practitioners of medicine confess their inability to be of real service to them and try to avoid their importunities for prescriptions; while the specialist who deals with them has to confess that, like other nerve cases, the treatment and control of each become a separate study. We have no right to burden society at large with the maintenance of institutions for people who are not help-

less, yet whose infirmity, however acquired, demands sympathetic consideration, even though positive methods must be adopted in dealing with their weakness.

There is a consensus of opinion that the opium addict, beyond all others, finds himself constantly having thoughts rising from his subconscious mind into consciousness, which divert his attention from normal conduct and by association of ideas determine the will toward indulgence in the very habit which he has spent so much time and money to be freed from. It is quite idle in practice to refine the theories as to whether the condition is physical or mental; whether there are in addicts stored-up products of the drug in the liver cells, or elsewhere, which continue to stimulate a cerebral reaction toward the renewed use of the drug after the cure has been taken, since all specialists and psychiatrists have to confess to a number of recidivists in their practice.

Assuming that legislative machinery, both international and national, will gradually be evolved through which the largest possible control of the sale of narcotic drugs would be effected and that education as to the evils to be avoided will gradually lessen the number of drug addicts in society, it is probable that the least evil will result by leaving those individuals who have become habitual users of the drug to make the struggle to free themselves from its control under the medical and moral assistance of some honest and capable physician who has studied their case, trusting to his skill and judgment to minimize the evil, which experience has shown it is so often impossible to abolish. The methods of police officials, jail surgeons and officers of institutions having the care of drug addicts, as of other psychopaths, have proved often too cruel and crude for the public to look in their direction for that sympathetic treatment which leads to a cure; while the rights and freedom of the individual who is not bad but only volitionally weak, must be ever looked upon as the first consideration to be observed in every well organized society.

For a number of years past the public mind has been greatly disturbed by the dissensions in the medical press, which have been carried into the daily press, of the

United States especially, as to the sincerity of a group of physicians, principally in New York, regarding the restrictive propaganda they have preached in the matter of the control of drug addicts. It is not necessary to question the sincerity of their motives in their efforts to obtain Federal, State and municipal legislation, which would in fact bring every drug addict within the criminal or defective class and force him into some institution for treatment, placed there either nominally or really under State or municipal control. It must be obvious from the considerations already set forth that these efforts, however well intended, have been not only ill-considered but quite useless so far as obtaining any permanent cure of the drug addict is concerned.

If, as the propagandists assert, there are in the United States anywhere between 2,000,000 and 5,000,000 addicts, or one in twenty of the population, it is surely a gratuitous assumption of very superior wisdom on the part of any group of physicians, who would place the control of this submerged twentieth of the population in the hands of any number of persons, whose methods have been proved futile to cure the addict, who have put forward no scheme of public education suggesting any real means of prevention, and who advocate methods which have proved as repellent as they are unscientific and unwise.

[The increased use of drugs is indicated in the annual report of the United States Internal Revenue Bureau for the year ended June 30, 1922, which was issued on Nov. 26. Referring to the work of the narcotic division, the Commissioner says:

"During the year ended June 30, 1921, a total of 4,014 cases of a criminal character were reported, whereas during the last fiscal year 6,651 such cases were reported. An increase of 2,637 cases over the previous year is to be noted, indicating a more effective operation of the field force and more efficient means for disclosing violations of the law.

"The general attitude of the courts toward violators of the narcotic laws is reflected in the fact that 3,104 convictions were had during the year ended June 30, 1922, whereas only 1,583 convictions were obtained during the fiscal year 1921.

"The collections under the narcotic laws for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1922, were \$1,269,039.90, an increase of \$98,748.58 over the collections for the previous year, which were \$1,170,291.32."

WOMAN'S DEMAND FOR MAN'S FULL CIVIL RIGHTS

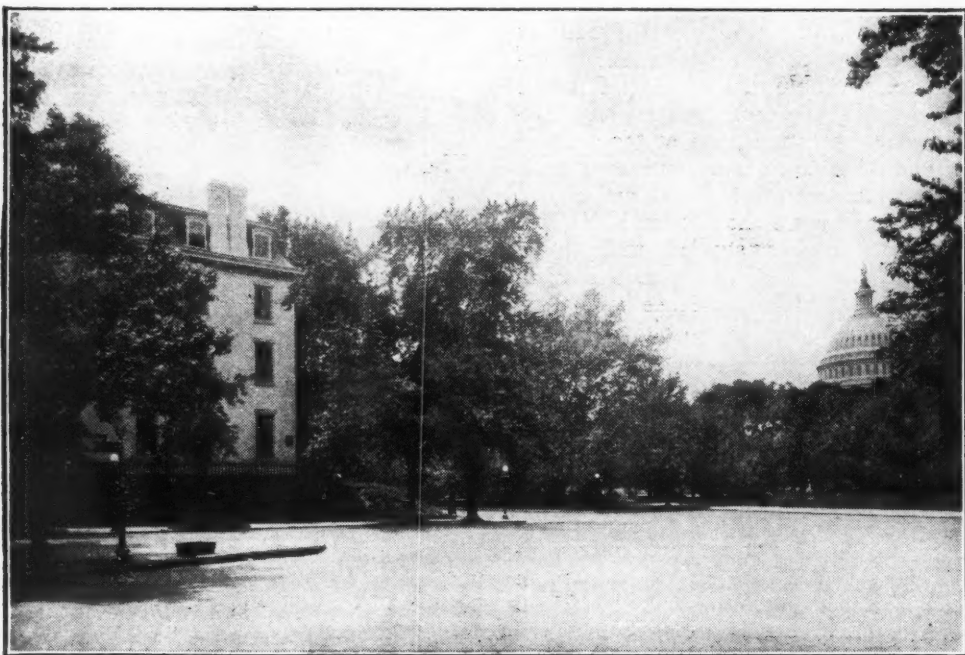
By CARSON C. HATHAWAY

Right to vote only first stage of struggle to secure the same status as men -- National party's real objective

A FEW months ago Pennsylvania Avenue in front of the White House was blocked every evening by a procession of defiant women. They carried banners of purple, yellow and white. They made speeches on the corners. They lit watch-fires. According to varying viewpoints they were either martyrs or public nuisances. Their ages ranged from 16 to 30. They finally obtained what they were seeking, the right to vote. The militant suffragists have occupied a colorful page in our recent history. No longer do they parade the streets or ride gayly to the po-

lice station in a patrol wagon. Weeds cover the lawn in front of their former headquarters. What has become of them?

Their new home is located just across from the Capitol of the United States. It bears the name of "The Old Capitol" from the fact that it was erected by American citizens to house Congress after the British had burned the Capitol during the war of 1812. Congress convened here from 1815 to 1819, and President Monroe was inaugurated in the house in 1817. John C. Calhoun died here in 1850, and during the Civil War it was used as a Federal prison.



(© Harris & Ewing)

The house which was used as a meeting place by Congress from 1815 to 1819 is now the permanent headquarters of the National Woman's Party at Washington. The Capitol can be seen in the background

It is one of the most historic homes in Washington and was only recently purchased by Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont for the use of the Woman's Party.

When the vote was won there were three plans considered by the organization for future activity, each supported by a considerable faction. The first group was intensely interested in the movement for world peace. It seemed to them only logical that women, who bear the most tragic burdens of war, should bend all possible efforts to abolish armed strife. The plan was finally given up on the theory that the disarmament movement was not essentially a women's movement and that efforts should be concentrated upon the advancement of women. A second group suggested a comprehensive feminist program. This embodied some of the more radical ideas and was discarded because it would have been likely to have alienated many of the loyal members of the party.

The plan finally agreed upon was simply to ascertain the legal discriminations against women and to seek to remove them. A campaign of research and legislation has been begun. It was known that under the law women did not enjoy the same rights as men. In some States the earnings of a married woman belong to her husband; in others women are not eligible for jury service, and in others fathers can will children away from their mothers. There was not in existence, however, any detailed information setting forth the comparative rights enjoyed by men and women. It was necessary to obtain these facts by intensive research. Fourteen women lawyers under the leadership of a member of the bar of the District of Columbia have been searching out the facts in the law library of the United States Supreme Court. The laws of each State have been delved into from beginning to end. Every possible piece of legislation



Statue of the woman thinker on the first floor of the headquarters of the National Woman's Party at Washington. The window by which it stands overlooks the Capitol. The statue symbolizes woman keeping a watch on Congress

bearing upon the status of women has been weighed and discussed from every angle. Statements and statistics have been compiled covering the subject State by State. When such research has been completed it is a comparatively easy matter to put down in writing the discriminations made against women in each State and to make plans to remove them.

It is a more difficult matter to carry the plans out. The method of execution naturally aroused a difference of opinion. Three methods of attack were suggested: First, to take each discrimination by itself and seek to have it removed; second, to campaign aggressively State by State and to win over each section of the country in



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DR. MARY O'MALLEY

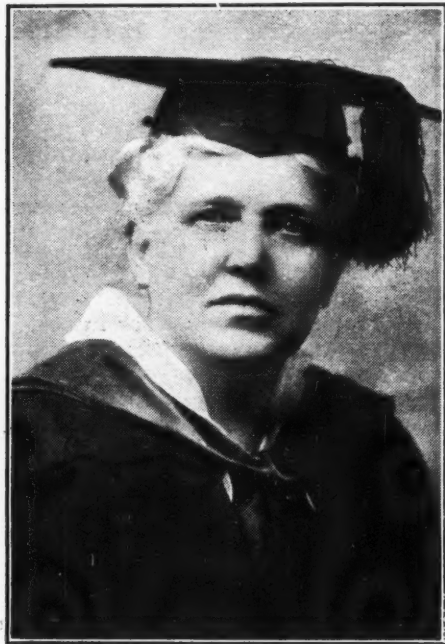
Chairman of the Women Doctors' Council of the National Woman's Party; head of the medical staff of the United States Government Hospital for the Insane

this way; third, to seek to establish equal rights by an amendment to the Federal Constitution. It may be mentioned that the last method is similar to the one followed in England. Woman suffrage was granted there in 1918, and in 1919 the "sex disqualification" measure was passed, creating practically complete legal equality between men and women. The first two methods are objectionable because of the endless delay involved. The third method has been objected to because of the fear that a "blanket" measure such as a constitutional amendment might deprive women of certain legal protection which they have enjoyed in the past, such as in the limitation of the hours of labor

in certain industries. The Woman's Party has gone on record as being willing to give up the *privileges* if women can obtain the same *rights* as men enjoy.

In only one State, Wisconsin, has a satisfactory "blanket" equality measure been passed. This provides that "women shall have the same rights and privileges under the law as men in the exercise of suffrage, freedom of contract, choice of residence for voting purposes, jury service, holding office, holding and conveying property, care and custody of children, and in all other respects." The Woman's Party plans to introduce similar measures in other States as soon as the research program is completed.

The second feature of the party program is a new adventure in the betterment of the condition of women. Councils have been established among practically all of the different professional groups in America. The councils are working for the advancement of women in various fields of activity. The following groups are included: Actresses, architects, artists, busi-



DR. EMMA GILLETT

Chairman of the Women Lawyers' Council of the National Woman's Party; Dean of the Washington College of Law



Group of foreign representatives who took part in the ceremonies when the new headquarters of the National Woman's Party was dedicated at Washington

ness women, dentists, farmers, Government workers, home makers, journalists, lawyers, librarians, ministers, musicians, nurses, osteopaths, physicians, playwrights, political workers, scientists, singers, social workers, teachers, wage earners and writers.

The "ministers' council" is reminiscent of pre-Revolutionary days when Anne Hutchinson rose in the public meetings and demanded a right to be heard. In this field and in many others women have not advanced much further than they had in her time. Women do not as yet enjoy equal rights with men either in training for a profession or in competing in the professional field when their education is finished. Certain medical schools, such as Harvard, do not admit women to the courses. The American Medical Association Directory states that out of 482 general hospitals only forty admit women internes; out of 102 special hospitals only fifteen admit women. A woman lawyer is no longer an oddity, yet Harvard and Columbia Universities still exclude women from the law courses, and the same is true

of the University of Florida. Only a handful of women have been appointed to important posts in the Government service.

The councils are endeavoring to brush aside the old traditions which prevent women from having equal opportunities with men. Some of the most prominent women in America are engaged in the councils' activities. The doctors' council is headed by Dr. Mary O'Malley, head of the medical staff of St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Washington, D. C., one of the largest hospitals for the insane in the United States. The lawyers' council is headed by Dr. Emma Gillett, Dean of the Washington College of Law. Zona Gale, the novelist, is one of the prominent council workers.

At present the National Woman's Party is devoting its energies to two things: 1. The removal of legal discriminations against woman: 2. The organization of councils among the different professional and economic groups, the aim of the councils to be the advancement of women in all of the various fields of professional activity.

SAVING AMERICA'S CHILDREN

By GRACE ABBOTT*

Chief of the Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor

Results obtained by the United States Children's Bureau since its creation in 1922—Campaign to reduce infantile mortality—The problems of illegitimacy, juvenile delinquency and child labor

THE Children's Bureau was created by an act of Congress in 1912 and directed to investigate and report upon "all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life among all classes of our people." It was the first public agency, not only in the United States but in the world, given the responsibility to supply the facts with reference to the problems of child life as a whole. During the decade that has passed, similar bureaus have been created in Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Russia, Poland and Jugoslavia, and the Pan-American Union reports one in process of organization in Chile.

Child welfare means many things to many people — promotion of the health of babies and children, prevention of delinquency and dependency, the care and treatment of those who are delinquent, dependent, neglected or defective, and protection against premature or excessive employment. While the bureau has made some studies relating to all these subjects, it has, of course, been able to make only a be-

ginning in what is a truly vast field of social research.

Because it was considered of fundamental importance, the subject of infant mortality was selected by Miss Julia C. Lathrop, the first chief of the bureau, for its initial inquiry. Beginning in an industrial town in 1913, at the special direction of Congress, the investigation was repeated in nine other industrial towns and cities, including Baltimore, Md., and Gary, Ind. Studies of the care available to mothers and infants in typical rural communities of twelve States of the South, Middle West, and West were also made. The coincidence of a high infant mortality rate with low earnings, poor housing, the employment of the mother outside the home and large families was indicated in all these studies. They also showed that there is great



Baby being examined by a physician of the Children's Bureau

*Miss Abbott has been appointed to co-operate with the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Women and Children of the League of Nations in a consultative capacity, and under reservation of any binding effect upon the United States, which is not a member of the League of Nations.

variation in the infant mortality rates, not only in different parts of the United States, but in different parts of the same State and the same city or town. These differences were found to be caused by different population elements, widely varying social and economic conditions, and differences in appreciation of good prenatal and infant care and the facilities available for such care. Evidence of the methods used in successful efforts to reduce infant mortality was also assembled. The instruction of mothers through infant-welfare centres, public-health nurses, and popular bulletins as to the proper care of children, the value of breast-feeding, the importance of consulting a doctor upon the first evidence of disease, everywhere brought substantial decreases in deaths.

In the period from 1915 to 1920, there has been a substantial reduction in the infant mortality rate in the birth registration area of the United States, but there are still five nations with lower rates than the American. Moreover, little progress has been made in reducing the deaths in early infancy. Consideration of infant mortality inevitably leads, therefore, to the question of the care mothers are receiving before, during, and after childbirth. Unfortunately, the maternal death rate in the United States has increased rather than decreased, so that the American rate is the highest among all the nations for which recent statistics are available. With an annual loss of approximately 200,000 babies and 20,000 mothers, the need of extending on a national scale the successful local efforts to provide better care for mothers and infants was obviously necessary.

FEDERAL AND STATE CO-OPERATION

In her annual report for 1917, Miss Julia Lathrop, then Chief of the Children's Bureau, suggested that the United States should use the well-established principle of federal aid as a basis of national and State co-operation in reducing the unnecessarily high death-rate among mothers and babies in this country. The Sheppard-Towner Act for the Protection of Maternity and Infancy, which provides for State and Federal co-operation in saving the lives of mothers and babies, became a law in No-

vember, 1921. The act authorizes an annual appropriation of \$1,240,000 for a five-year period, of which not more than \$50,000 may be expended by the Children's Bureau for administrative purposes and for the investigation of maternal and infant mortality; the balance to be divided among the States accepting the act. The act intends that the plan of work shall originate in the State and be carried out by the State. A Federal Board of Maternity and Infant Hygiene, composed of the chief of the Children's Bureau, the Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service, and the United States Commissioner of Education, may approve or disapprove State plans, but the act provides that the plans must be approved by the Federal board if "reasonably appropriate and adequate to carry out its purposes." The only prohibitions are that no part of the funds is to be expended for the purchase, erection, or repair of any building or equipment, or for the purchase or rental of any buildings or lands, or for any maternity or infancy stipend, gratuity or pension. Up to date forty-two States have accepted the terms of the act—all except Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, Louisiana and Washington.

The plans submitted by the States and approved by the board vary greatly. A program for one State, involving an expenditure of approximately \$176,967.36 for fifteen months, provides for two field physicians, six supervising nurses, four full-time nurses and eighty nurses who will give half time to the maternity and infancy work. In contrast, a large Western State plans general educational work as to the needs and possibilities of an infant and maternal hygiene program. A State in the Middle West proposes to increase greatly its staff of public health nurses and to hold regular monthly conferences at a series of maternity centres that will be opened throughout the State.

The interests of the Children's Bureau in the field of child hygiene are by no means confined to those connected with the administration of the Sheppard-Towner act. That the health habits formed by the child of pre-school age and the kind of food provided for all growing children are of fundamental importance in later life has not been generally appreciated. Two nutri-

tion studies made by the bureau, one among children aged from two to eleven years, in a mountain county of Kentucky, and the other among pre-school children in Gary, Ind., have shown the fundamental and immediate importance of education in the essentials of child care—the food requirements of children and the methods of preparing suitable meals for them, and also their needs with reference to sleep, fresh air and cleanliness. Many of the children, moreover, were living in families unable to provide the requisites of adequate health care, such as decent shelter, sufficient clothing, and a simple but properly balanced diet. Medical examinations of the children were made by physicians of the bureau in each community, and in more than nine-tenths of the children physical defects needing attention were revealed. In addition to its investigations, the bureau conducts a large correspondence with the mothers of the country, who bring to it many and various problems concerning the care and training of their children. The "Child Welfare Special," an auto truck, is continuing its demonstrations of the value of children's health conferences in rural communities, and is now at work in Tennessee.

DEPENDENT CHILDREN

Probably because their obvious helplessness makes their appeal for community action irresistible, the first child welfare work in many communities is in behalf of the dependent children. During recent years there has been great development in the technique of caring for these children. Huge orphanages are disappearing and emphasis is being placed on the necessity of insuring for these children the nearest possible approximation of normal home life. The movement was greatly accelerated by the so-called White House Conference of 1909, when a group of experts assembled by President Roosevelt to consider the problem recommended that policy. In the care of dependent children, the most significant development of the past ten years has been the movement for public aid for mothers with dependent children through "mothers' pensions" or "funds to parents" acts. The first of these acts was passed in 1911; at present



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MISS GRACE ABBOTT

Chief of the Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor

every State except North Carolina, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Kentucky and New Mexico, have provided public aid for dependent children in their own homes. In many of the States there has been a growing number of families aided and an increased amount of relief given, as well as improvement in the method of administering these laws.

It is only recently that serious consideration has been given to the problem of how to secure for the child whose parentage has not had the sanction of law an approximation of that equality of opportunity which should be the inheritance of every American child.* After assembling and analyzing the present laws relating to the status of children born out of wedlock, the Children's Bureau, at the request of the Inter-City Conference on Illegitimacy, held two regional conferences, at which standards for the legal protection of children born out of wedlock were considered and

*See "The Unmarried Mother," by Francis Haffkine Snow, *CURRENT HISTORY*, December, 1921, pages 432-470.

at which it was agreed that it was in the interest of public morals to give to these handicapped children status and the right to inheritance and support from both father and mother. The National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws was then asked by the Chief of the Children's Bureau to draft a measure for the legal protection of such children.

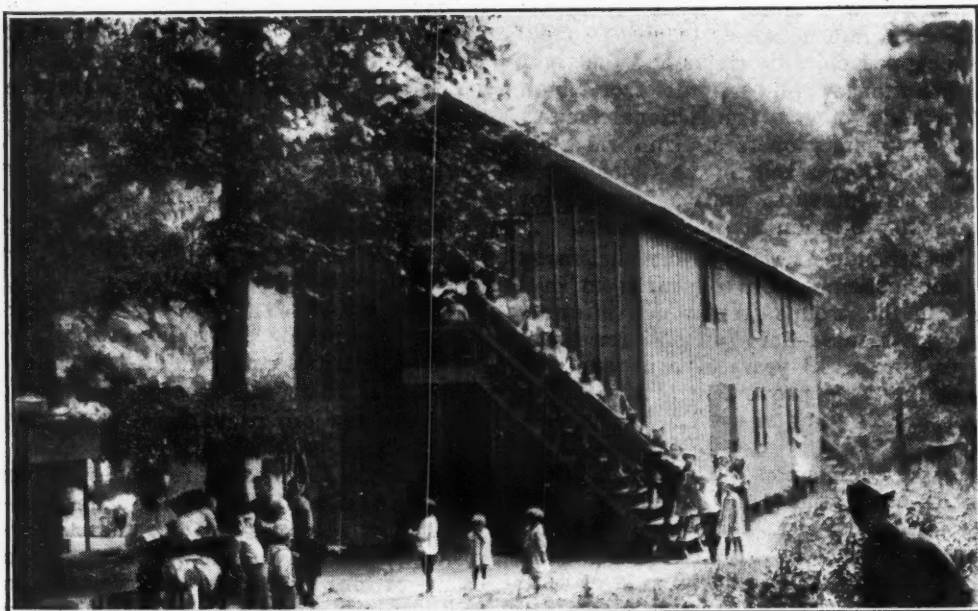
Recent studies reveal the fact that many of the mothers—from one-ninth to one-fifth in the groups from which information was secured—are but children themselves (under 18 years of age) and that about the same proportion of the fathers are under 21 years of age. While in most States the child born out of wedlock has the same claim upon the mother for support and the same right of inheritance as the child of legitimate birth, the claims upon the father are very different. In one State his legal obligation is fixed at \$125 a year, and in another at from \$1 to \$3 a month.

At the meeting of the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws held in August, 1922, a bill drafted by a committee of which Professor Ernst Freund of the University of Chicago Law

School is Chairman was approved and recommended to the States for adoption. It is confined principally to the problem of support of the child. It provides that the parents of a child born out of wedlock owe it "maintenance, education, and support," a duty not imposed by the common law nor by the statutes of many States. The father is made liable for the expenses of the mother's pregnancy and confinement. Action may be undertaken against the father, either by the mother, her legal representative, a third person furnishing support, or by the authorities charged with the child's support, if it should become dependent. There are new provisions, intended to meet the problem of the absconding father, which permit the mother, regardless of her own place of residence, to begin proceedings in the place where the father is permanently or temporarily resident. The estate of one whose paternity has been judicially established in his lifetime or acknowledged by him in writing is liable to such an amount as the court may determine, "having regard to the age of the child, the ability of the mother to support it, the amount of property left by the father, the number, age, and financial con-



Boy workers in anthracite mines, Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania



A two-story "shanty," approximately 20 by 60 feet, which housed ninety persons, men, women and children, in the eastern truck farming district of Maryland

dition of the lawful issue, if any, and the rights of the widow, if any," as well as the obligation to provide for his unlawful issue.

JUSTICE FOR ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN

The act does not set up the administrative machinery which students of social problems will recognize is necessary to secure for the children the benefits which the law intends. This is a matter for individual action rather than a uniform State law, as is also the question as to whether public opinion will permit a larger measure of justice for the child of natural parents than this act gives. "Maintenance, education, and support" will be a long step forward in most of the States where the viewpoint of a century or more ago has been left on the statute books. But even with support, status, and inheritance rights established, the child born out of wedlock will be without a normal home which has community as well as legal sanction and in which there are what every child needs, both a father and mother. No measure should, therefore, divert the attention of those concerned with the welfare of the child from providing better training

and more safeguards for young people, effective control of irresponsible adults, and a wider acceptance of the ideal of self-control and the responsibilities of parenthood among both men and women.

The history of the juvenile court in the United States covers a period of more than 20 years. We have in that time come to a very general agreement as to principles on which the care of the delinquent child should be based. But practice in many parts of the country is far from embodying those principles and everywhere daily preventive measures which would reduce delinquency still await community action. The most successful courts are in the large cities, where the numbers make the employment of probation officers, physicians and psychiatrists possible. Experience has shown that, if children in rural as well as in urban communities are to receive the benefits the Juvenile Court law intends, the State must set the machinery in motion. At present 48 per cent. of our children live in rural areas. If they are neglected or delinquent they have about one-seventh the chance for treatment fitted to their needs as they would have if they happened to reside in one of the great cities. The

States of New York and Massachusetts have been pioneers in promotion of juvenile court and probation standards throughout all sections of the State. The past few years have seen a marked development of co-operation in juvenile-court work by the State departments and county public-welfare or child-welfare organizations, especially in Alabama, California, Georgia, Indiana, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Carolina and Pennsylvania.

Although the principles governing the juvenile court have been accepted, in theory at least, by every State but two, our federal laws, like the old criminal law, make no distinctions between the adult and the child offender. In consequence, the Federal Courts are still proceeding against little children by the ordinary methods of arrest, detention in jail with adults, indictment by the grand jury, and final dis-

charge or sentence of fine or imprisonment. The United States should lead and not lag far behind the States in the care that it gives these children.

In the development of public opinion with reference to child labor, the experience of the United States has been not unlike that of Great Britain and western Europe, but in the actual machinery for regulation and control there have been great differences, demonstrating at once the advantages and the limitations of the federal form of government. In spite of great diversities in the child labor laws of our 48 States, the developing tendencies in the United States are clear. In general, the best laws set up an age, an educational, and a physical standard which the child must attain before he can be employed in a specified list of establishments—usually stores, factories, mills, workshops and manufacturing establishments. The hours during which the children may work the first few years of employment are usually limited and employment in certain hazardous occupations is prohibited. The employment of children in agriculture is still unregulated, and street trading is nowhere effectively controlled. But the details of the State Child Labor laws vary so that they fit together like the pieces of a crazy quilt. Discussion of the importance of greater uniformity among the States reached Congress about sixteen years ago. At that time Senators Beveridge and Lodge and Congressman Parsons introduced the first federal child labor bills. Nearly ten years later the first federal child labor law was passed. But this and a subsequent enactment have both been declared unconstitutional.*

THE CHILD LABOR EVIL

The returns from the 1920 census, taken at the beginning of a period of industrial depression and with the federal child labor tax law temporarily discouraging their employment, show fewer children under 14 and under 16 gainfully employed than did the census of 1910; but the decline is much less than was expected, especially in view of the fact that our standards of protection have moved forward during the past



A mother going to work in an oyster and shrimp canning community on the Gulf Coast. She takes the baby and oldest child, aged 7 years, to the cannery and leaves the third child in a nursery

*See "Child Labor in the United States," by Owen R. Lovejoy, *CURRENT HISTORY*, July, 1922, pages 617-620.

ten years. When the first Federal child labor law was passed, only two other nations, Norway and Switzerland, had adopted the 14-year-age minimum, and of the States, Ohio and Montana alone had an age standard higher than the Federal. Now nearly all of the civilized western nations afford the children this minimum protection. According to the most recent information available, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Germany, Greece, Great Britain, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Rumania and Switzerland have adopted a 14-year-age minimum, and seven American States have passed that standard. The extent to which the children of the United States have suffered from the nullifying of the Federal child labor laws is indicated by the fact that only thirteen States—Alabama, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Tennessee, West Virginia and Wisconsin—measured up in all particulars to the standards of the Federal law.

The first industrial studies made by the Children's Bureau related to the methods of administering child labor laws in a number of States. More recently it has published studies of the employment of children in the oyster and shrimp canneries along the Gulf; of the home work in Rhode Island and of child welfare in an anthracite mining town. Some investigations have also been made of rural child labor. In the story of his own childhood, "A Son of the Middle Border," Hamlin Garland has given us a very remarkable picture of child labor in one of our richest agricultural districts. Garland points out that "there are certain ameliorations to child labor on a farm. Air and sunshine and food are plentiful"; there are "changes in the landscape, in the notes of birds, and in the play of small animals on the sunny soil." But he found the long hours, the fatiguing work and the interference with school very hard to bear. The "middle border" is no longer a frontier of American life. The care given children today is better than it was possible to give to children born under the pioneer conditions of fifty years ago. But it is not all changed. A few of the grandchildren of those American soldiers who turned to the

West when the Civil War was over, and a much larger number of the children of the immigrant settlers who followed them, are today doing a "man's work" on the farm when they are still "little boys longing for the leisure" and needing the schooling of boyhood.

Like Garland, rural child laborers have been finding that "to guide a team for a few minutes as an experiment was one thing—to plow all day like a hired hand * * * was not a chore but a job." Farm work for children means meagre educational opportunities in both Spring and Autumn. In an investigation recently made in North Dakota, over half the 845 children who were working on farms and were interviewed by agents of the Children's bureau had missed twenty days or more of school, nearly one-third had been absent forty days or more, and about one-fifth sixty days or more; nine per cent. had missed half the school term. Absence because of farm work was the principal cause of nonattendance. Seven per cent. of the children had lost sixty days or more, or at least three school months, and twenty-eight per cent. had lost one school month or more for work on the farm. In a study of the truck farming area lying along the Atlantic seaboard where large numbers of migratory workers, chiefly family groups from near-by industrial centres, were found, the children suffered from absence from school and dangerously long hours of work, and, in addition, from promiscuous and unhealthy living conditions in the crowded camps.

The past ten years have seen substantial gains for children. Leaving out of discussion the individual variations in the care which the individual father and mother give, there is no community which the Children's Bureau has discovered in which all the community safeguards, which the social and physical sciences show are needed, have been developed; there are some communities in which practically nothing has been done. But everywhere people are beginning to realize the importance of really efficient provision for the welfare of children. What it would mean to the nation if for a single generation the children were adequately cared for, no one has measured.

HOW LARGE WAS THE CONFEDERATE ARMY?

By A. B. CASSELMAN

Small progress made by the War Department in the last twenty years in compiling the rosters of the Union and Confederate Armies--Interruption through America's entry into the World War—Half a million or a million and more Confederates?

A RECENT statement by the War Department of the United States Government, indicating that the Government had not as yet succeeded in compiling data sufficient to estimate accurately the numerical strength of the Confederate Army, has considerable interest, showing, as it does, that small progress has been made in the work of compiling the Union and Confederate Army rosters, though this task was begun some twenty years ago.

It was in 1903 that the War Department assumed the formidable undertaking of preparing from all possible official sources a complete roster of the enlisted men of the two armies of North and South, following the passing by Congress in that year of an appropriation act covering this compilation. From 1903 until 1917 the Adjutant General in his annual reports made public the progress of the work. Up to 1917, when the United States entered the World War, only the preliminary work, consisting of the preparing of index-record cards for the respective entries, had been completed. The entrance of the United States into the war caused discontinuance of the work on the Confederate records.

The Adjutant General's statement above referred to declared that no compilation had yet been made by the War Department "from which even an approximately accurate statement can be made concerning the number of troops in the Confederate Army, or as to the losses in that army, and it is impracticable to make such a compilation at this time, owing to the incompleteness of the Confederate records in the pos-

session of the Department." With this statement should be combined that made in the Adjutant General's annual report for 1910, where it is said that when the records have been made as complete as possible, and have been "reproduced" by the card-index system, it will be possible to "make an approximation of the whole number of individuals in service in the Confederate Army during the Civil War that will be more nearly correct than any estimate that has heretofore been made by any one."

In the Century Magazine for March, 1892, there was published an article written by myself, in which the conclusion was reached that the aggregate number of the Confederate Army for the Civil War period was very much greater than the number usually accepted by Southern writers, viz., 800,000. This article was commended by Theodore Roosevelt, then Civil Service Commissioner. Published thirty years ago, it was the first paper devoted specially to the subject. It contained only partial data on which to base an estimate, consisting chiefly of Confederate muster rolls (then recently published), of the troops of North Carolina. These captured rolls were copied and published by permission of the War Department by Colonel Moore, late of the Third North Carolina Battalion, and, although admittedly incomplete, showed 104,000 names. Colonel Moore, making allowance for the incompleteness of the rolls, estimates the total number for his State at 120,000 (revising his earlier estimate of 150,000),

from which it seems evident that the total for the eleven Confederate and three "border" States must have been greatly in excess of 600,000.

OVER A MILLION MEN

Since the publication of this article the question has been made the subject of considerable study and research, alike official and unofficial. Historical writers have examined the available war records, census records, Confederate conscript laws and other data, from all of which sources it has been estimated that the number of men in the Confederate Army could not have been far from 1,200,000.

The volume published by Colonel Livermore, Secretary of the Massachusetts Military Historical Society ("Numbers and Losses in the Civil War in America, 1861-1865"), cited in the above-quoted memorandum of the War Department, is perhaps the most important private contribution to the subject. It is a painstaking compilation from official records of the numbers and losses, Union and Confederate, in the principal battles and campaigns. On the question of the numbers of the Confederate Army for the period of the war, Colonel Livermore's figures indicate a total in excess of 1,100,000.

General Charles Francis Adams, in a volume of historical essays under the title, "Studies, Military and Diplomatic," estimates the possible maximum of the Confederate Army at 1,277,000, and concludes that the total certainly exceeded 1,100,000. He estimates the arms-bearing population of the Confederate States for the period of the war to have been 1,420,000, including the accretions from youths attaining military age and those brought within the military age by the sweeping conscript laws of the Confederacy, which included finally all from 17 to 50 years of age, plus Junior and Senior Reserves. From the above total he deducts 20 per cent. (284,000) for exemptions, and adds 117,000 as the number said to have been furnished by the border States, not included in the Confederacy. General Adams also quotes estimates made by historical societies of the Southern States, which show an aggregate of 1,052,000, as follows:

Alabama	90,000
Arkansas	50,000
Mississippi	70,000
North Carolina	120,000
South Carolina	75,000
Tennessee	115,000
Texas	50,000
Virginia	175,000
Georgia	120,000
Louisiana	55,000
Florida	15,000
	<hr/> 935,000
Border States (Mo., Ky., Md. & W. Va.)	117,000
Total	<hr/> 1,052,000

FALLACY OF SOUTHERN "LEGEND"

The estimate of 1,200,000 as the total of the Confederate Army for the four years of the war does not seem excessive or unreasonable as representing the military strength of the 5,000,000 white population of the Confederate States, aided by the 2,000,000 population of the sympathizing border States, and with an industrial army of 3,000,000 slaves. The Southern estimate, or "legend," as it has been aptly termed, of 600,000, has always seemed disproportionate. This estimate is of uncertain origin, and is not derived from any official source. It did not originate during the war but after the war had ended, when the Confederates had lost their records and were without official data on which to support their assertions. No official summary purporting to show the total number can be found in the official records. The captured rolls are incomplete and fragmentary. As an illustration, it has been ascertained that approximately 1,000 names are missing from the captured rolls of a single regiment, the Sixtieth North Carolina. The Rev. Dr. McKim, an ex-Confederate officer and a writer on this subject, quotes a letter received by him from Colonel Walter G. Taylor, General Lee's Adjutant General, saying:

I regret to have to say that I know of no reliable data in support of any precise number, and have always realized that it must ever be largely a matter of conjecture on our side.

In the absence of complete official records, the question still remains largely a matter of conjecture. Neither the Confederate legend of 600,000 nor any later estimate can be accepted as final or as even approximately accurate.

In the meantime, among recent Southern writers there are some who cling with tenacity to the legend of 600,000. The late Rev. Dr. Randolph H. McKim, an eminent Episcopal clergyman, whose pride it was to have served as a Lieutenant in the Army of Northern Virginia, published in 1912 a monograph in which he challenged the conclusions of General Charles Francis Adams. Colonel Livermore and other writers, as well as the estimates of Southern historical societies, and insisted that the estimate of 600,000 was about correct.

DR. MCKIM VS. GENERAL ADAMS

This little volume of the late Dr. McKim seems deserving of more than passing notice. Its author was a clever writer eminent in the Church, and had served throughout the war in the Army of Northern Virginia. He wrote as a spokesman for the South, and is the only Southern writer who has attempted to offer proof or argument in support of the bare assertion that the Confederate Army numbered only 600,000 men. His paper was designed, as he states, to answer and refute the conclusions of General Charles Francis Adams, and on its face would indicate that, fifty years after the war had ended, Northern and Southern writers were 600,000 apart in their estimates of the numbers of the Confederate Army.

The wide difference, however, as between Dr. McKim's estimate and that of General Adams, is more apparent than real, and is largely accounted for by the fact that the two writers do not discuss exactly the same question. General Adams's estimate of 1,200,000 has reference to the number enrolled in the military service of the Confederacy during the four years of the war, counted in the same way the total number enlisted in the Union Army has been computed and ascertained. Dr. McKim, on the other hand, while assuming to discuss this same question, contends that only those should be counted as Confederate soldiers who were actually "present, serving with the colors." Obviously the two armies should be "counted" in the same way. The very great difference between the number borne on the rolls, and the number actually present and effective for duty at the

front, is repeatedly emphasized by Dr. McKim—a fact no more true of one army than of the other. In quoting his estimate of 600,000 he invariably adds the qualifying phrase "serving with the colors." Thus he says:

He (General Adams) holds that the Southern estimate of a total strength of only 600,000 *with the Confederate colors* is discreditable to the spirit and patriotism of our people.

General Adams, however, did not use the qualifying phrase "with the colors." That is Dr. McKim's phrase. He also says that it is not surprising that the South was "not able to muster in *battle array* more than 600,000 men." Another passage reads:

After all, the most important question to determine is the number of men *actually serving with the colors* in the armies of the Confederate States, and that, I suppose, is what General Cooper and other Southern authorities had in mind.

A more detailed statement follows:

A consideration of the portentous difference between the number of men borne on the regimental rolls and the number actually available *on the battlefield* suggests that it may be in a large degree accounted for by the number of men detailed for service in the industrial army. Thus in the Army of Northern Virginia, just before Fredericksburg, Nov. 20, 1862:

Aggregate present and absent, 153,773.
Aggregate present for duty, 86,569.

Soon after Gettysburg:

Present and absent, 109,915.
Present for duty, 50,184.
On reaching Petersburg, July 10, 1864:
Present and absent, 135,805.
Present for duty, 68,844.
Before Wilderness Campaign, 1864:
Present and absent, 98,246.
Present for duty, 62,925.

It is not understood how any one can state or estimate the number of Confederate soldiers "serving with the colors" for a period of four years in their various armies, as distinguished from the number borne upon the rolls. The number of effectives available for battle on a specified date can be ascertained, but how is it possible to ascertain the total of effectives for a period of four years and for the various armies of the Confederacy? The number of effectives necessarily varied and fluctuated according to the exigencies of the war. The sick and wounded in hospital, prisoners in the hands of the enemy, and those absent serving on details of various kinds were

not "serving with the colors" in the sense used by Dr. McKim, but they were borne upon the rolls and included in General Adams's estimate.

THE TWO VIEWS NOT INCONSISTENT

Adopting Dr. McKim's distinction between the number "borne upon the rolls" and those "present with the colors," his estimate of 600,000 "serving with the colors" is not inconsistent with General Adams's estimate of 1,200,000 enrolled. His figures show about as many absent from the colors as were present, viz.:

At Fredericksburg: Present for duty.....	86,569
Thus leaving absent.....	67,204
After Gettysburg: Present.....	50,184
Absent	59,731
At Petersburg: Present.....	68,844
Absent	66,961

Why approximately as many men were absent as were present with the colors and whether, as Dr. McKim suggests, they were detailed for service "with the industrial army" are not material. The essential fact shown by his figures is that about as many men were absent as were present with the colors, on the dates specified; hence his figures do not refute, but tend to confirm General Adams's estimate of a total of 1,200,000. The proportion of those enrolled who were absent from the colors was no greater in the Confederate than in the Union Army. On this point General Adams says:

The Union at that time (April, 1865) had, it is said, a million men on its muster rolls. Possibly that number were consuming rations and drawing pay. If such was the case, acting on the offensive and deep in a vast hostile country, the Union might possibly have been able to put 500,000 men in the fighting line.

Dr. McKim rejects the estimates of the historical societies of the Southern States, quoted by General Adams, which show over a million as the total of the Confederate Army, asserting that they are "enormously exaggerated" from "zeal for the honor and glory" of their respective States. It will hardly be accepted, on mere assertion, that the separate estimates by Southern historical societies and writers, representing eleven Confederate States, are all exaggerated to glorify their several States. The reader must judge as between the historical societies and Dr. McKim.

The writer believes that the people of the South of this generation, as well as those of the North, desire that the history of the war shall speak the truth, and not be garbled or exaggerated to glorify any State or section.

In what he terms his "counter-argument," Dr. McKim specifies various objections to General Adams's estimate, in which he argues that due allowance is not made for the "enormous number exempted from enrolment for every sort of State duty, for railroads and new manufacturing establishments made necessary by the blockade of our ports," and for "the necessity of creating not only an army of fighters, but also an industrial army, and an army of civil servants out of the male population liable for military duty." He says:

The South had to provide out of her indigenous (white) male population, of military age, a fighting army, an industrial army and an army of civil servants.

3,000,000 SLAVES TO CONSIDER

His contention, thus stated, ignores the industrial army of 3,000,000 slaves that had always performed the industrial labor of the South, an army that served as a most important auxiliary to the Confederate military forces in every practicable way. It was, in fact, this great industrial army of slaves that enabled the South to put into its military service virtually its entire white male population of military age, with relatively few exemptions, limited to those physically unfit and a relatively small number for other causes. The industrial army of the South was not composed of "white men of military age." Nor was it necessary to create an army of civil servants out of the male population "of military age, liable for military duty." A half million men in the South who were either not of military age, or who were exempted as being physically unfit, were available and competent to "man the offices" and carry on the affairs of civil government.

Not unrelated to the question of numbers is the question, exhaustively discussed and analyzed by General Adams, What caused the defeat of the South? "How did we ever do it," he says, "contrary to the prediction of Gladstone and

the leading statesmen of Europe, and contrary to an opinion that widely prevailed among intelligent men of the North, that the South could never be subjugated?" The admitted superiority in numbers, of two to one, does not explain it. The military population of the South was not overwhelmed. Dr. McKim argues, in effect, that a third of the men of the South never went into the service at all. General Adams estimates that at the end of the war the South still had 900,000 men of military age, two-thirds of the original total for the period of the war, and quotes Jefferson Davis in his interview with General Johnston at Greensboro, in April, 1865, as insisting that the South was not beaten, "if the men would turn out." But he points to the obvious fact that if Jefferson Davis, by stamping his foot upon the ground, could have called to the colors a million men, they would have been useless

without the means to supply them, and that the defeat of the South (as conceded by Dr. McKim) was due finally to the maritime and naval supremacy of the North, which enabled it to command the sea, blockade her ports, and shut her off from all foreign commerce and source of supplies.

The act of Congress of 1903 manifests a generous purpose to preserve the names, and to give to the Confederate soldier an equal place with the Union soldier in the official records of the Civil War. The War Department may be able eventually to compile a partial roster and give from its records an official estimate that history can accept as showing with approximate accuracy the numbers of the Confederate Army. The survivors, North and South, for themselves and future generations, can welcome, and should aid in establishing, the truth.

EUROPE'S SILVER LINING

By FRED H. RINDGE JR.

Signs of hope in the war-shattered countries seen in the new idealism of service and co-operation—Rebuilding the nations on the foundations of democracy and peace—America's duty to save the suffering millions

POOOR old Europe! Torn by hatred, suspicion, starvation, disease, high taxation, low exchange, vast industrial and social problems, militarism, a war to end war, followed by what some think is a peace to end peace. This is the dark side—all too true, to be sure, but there is another side to Europe.

After visiting twenty-three countries I discovered that underneath the pall of death and hopelessness there is still hope. Out of the chaos are gradually emerging new realizations, new ideals and a new sense of eternal values. Millions of individuals have acquired a new freedom of thought. In many lands I found heroic individuals daring to stand up and proclaim, instead of the old law of imperialism, greed and "an eye for an eye," a new law of democracy, unselfishness and justice. Nations are gradually discovering

that co-operation is greater than competition, and that true internationalism is greater than narrow, exaggerated nationalism. Victorious people are feeding starving children in the homes of the vanquished. The agencies of reconstruction are eradicating barriers of creed and nationality through constructive service. The comradeship of the trenches and the fellowship of suffering have broken down class distinctions. Workers of many lands have united for the improvement of working conditions and labor standards everywhere. Even a World Court of International Justice has at last become a reality. New democracies have been born and old monarchies have become more democratic. Fifty-one nations have banded together to heal the wounds of war and to insure peace, and millions of individuals have learned to hate war and to love peace!

Surely these facts furnish ground upon which the optimist can stand and see the silver lining.

IN FRANCE AND BELGIUM

In every country I felt the thrill of patriotism and pride, but, underneath it all, the deep, deep hunger for brotherhood and peace! In France the peasants in devastated areas are plowing the soil with new hope, even at the risk of running into a shell and blowing themselves into eternity. Not a whole brick remains where once there were happy villages and prosperous cities. The birth rate is decreasing and there is dread of the future, yet life goes on. People are existing in dugouts and cellars, yet they are living and *working*, and unselfish people are helping them. There are one hundred and forty-six "Foyers" scattered all over France. I have seen them amid the devastations of Rheims, Lens, Lille and Vimy, as well as in more prosperous areas. "Union Franco-Américaine" they are appropriately called—just another testimony to the

fact that America has not forsaken France! And that France appreciates is proved by her taking over the leadership and financing most of these "Foyers." This is very encouraging. I believe the spirit of service will yet conquer the spirit of militarism.

Little Belgium has "come back" with great rapidity after the war. Ypres in ruins will remain as it is, but a new and greater Ypres will rise alongside those ruins. In Brussels one must dig below the surface to discover the real effects of war. "You look well after the years of strain," I remarked to my stenographer in that beautiful city. "Ah, yes, monsieur," she replied, "I was more fortunate than my two sisters. They died of tuberculosis!" The suffering is underneath. Eyes are turned toward the future, and Belgium is coming back to her own. I sat one night at dinner with the Prime Minister, the Minister of War, a dozen other prominent people and the British and American Ambassadors. They were not discussing reparations, but the reconstruction program of one of the great social



Czech and Slovak girls in national dresses ready to make holiday



In the market place, Agram, Jugoslavia. The smiling faces are a sign that there is a silver lining even to the clouds which hang over Europe today

service agencies—a new task surely for a Minister of War! Such scenes as this picture the beginning of a new day in Europe.

In Holland I attended a meeting of the World's Committee of another social service organization, with representatives of thirty-nine nations present. Former enemies sat side by side for days and helped put the pieces together after the war. What will the multiplication of such meetings not do for Europe?

A few days later a small group of American and British Secretaries of the Y. M. C. A., meeting at Geneva, Switzerland, gladly contributed the salary necessary to place a German Secretary at the great Port of Hamburg to serve emigrants of many nationalities en route to the United States! When informed of this, the German Secretary said with deep feeling, "This is the only hopeful thing which has come into my life since 1914." In such directions as this lies the hope of a new internationalism.

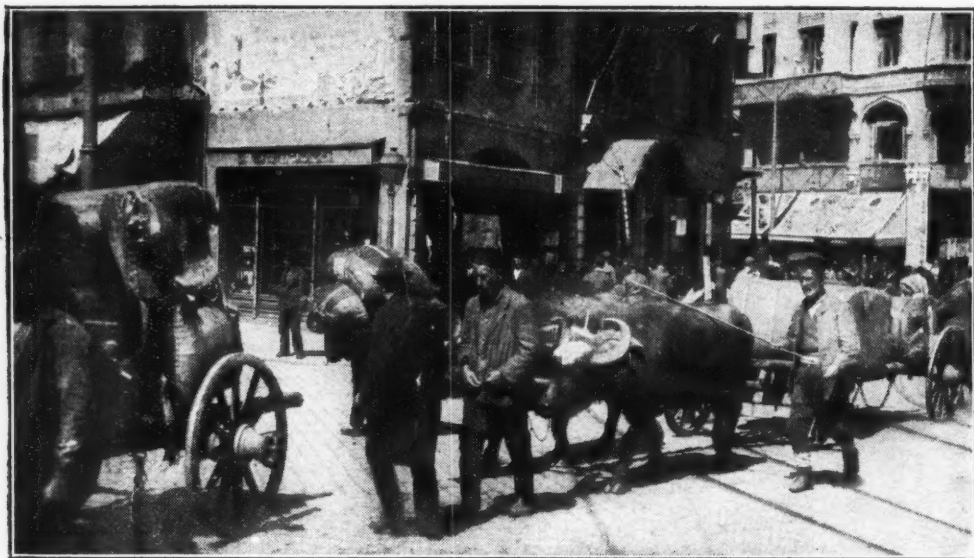
As for the League of Nations, I never felt so queer as on that day when I looked upon those able representatives of fifty-one nationalities and realized that the United States was not among them. Yet our nation was and is there in spirit!

The great heart of the American people beats in sympathy with the larger ideals of peace and internationalism expressed by the League. No outlaw nation can defy the League without defying America as well. And in that fact there is cause for more optimism. There may yet be a United States of the World!

Portugal is a republic of many revolutions—yet it is slowly but surely making its way toward stability. And it was there that I saw officers and privates of the army playing together the American games learned in France. They had played the game of war together, why not the games of peace? Those games are now being played all over Europe.

ITALY'S OUTLOOK BRIGHT

In Italy the bloodless revolution is ended and Benito Mussolini is in power. The Italian people are managing their finances with wisdom and are building on sure foundations. Italy's greatest exports are emigrants. Last year her nationals sent back over \$250,000,000 earned in America, and many have followed their money and helped to build a greater Italy. What a contribution we can make to these nations if we can send back their emi-



A typical street scene in Constantinople

grants with real American methods and ideals! We cannot, however, send them back with American ideals, nor can we inculcate those ideals among foreigners who remain here, unless we treat our fourteen million immigrants as they ought to be treated. We must do this for the sake of Europe, as well as for America.

AUSTRIA AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Austria is an impossible economic unit, a pale shadow of her former greatness, yet she struggles on, complaining little and striving doggedly. Unable to raise her debt by further taxations, with printing presses turning out paper money day and night, she was heading toward economic ruin until the League of Nations recently stepped in to save her. The people who least wanted the war are suffering the most. I lived in the home of a professor of the University of Vienna who earns, at present exchange, a salary of one dollar per month! He takes boarders and wears the same suit he owned before the war. Of 31,000 college students in Austria, one-third are in desperate need. And here, as in many other lands, American relief agencies have come to the rescue of a grateful people. Said a high Govern-

ment official: "We cannot understand America launching the ideal of a League of Nations and then staying out of it, but we shall never forget that you, our enemy, have fed our starving children!" Other nations are learning that one country cannot continue in bad condition without affecting other countries—and this is a great lesson! In Austria today there is ground for optimism in the fact that people are working, helping each other, and that the new Government has ideals so far above the old as to make any fair comparison impossible.

The new Republic of Czechoslovakia is one of the more hopeful countries of Europe. The people have great resources and great ability. In the first pangs of a new-born nationalism, after what to them were centuries of oppression, they may have seemed hard on subject races and unkind toward old enemies like Austria. But they have caught a larger vision, and their present attitude is on the whole statesmanlike and admirable. President Masaryk is one of the great leaders of Europe. I shall never forget some of the scenes I witnessed in Czechoslovakia. A great athletic assembly in Prague, with 10,000 people engaged in rhythmical calisthenics at the

same time, and admired by 125,000 spectators! A parade of radical labor unions, with perfect order, liberty and good feeling! A historical pageant, with 3,000 participants! A training conference of Secretaries from 150 Y. M. C. A.'s, all organized since the war, largely under native leadership! Over 1,500 college students in Prague building their own barracks to help solve their housing problem! Girl students working as ordinary "scrub-women" from 3 to 8 A. M. to earn money for their education! This is surely the spirit that wins. Every foreigner is an optimist in Czechoslovakia.

POLAND AND THE BALTIC STATES

Poland has more than twice the population of Czechoslovakia, with marks at 6,000—even 10,000—to the dollar! Yet tens of thousands of refugees continue to pour into Poland from Russia, penniless, half starved, typhus-ridden—and generous Poland welcomes them! There is something heroic about it. Some of these new nations may yet "find" themselves through service. I visited a boys' camp in Russian

Poland which has its headquarters in a beautiful hunting palace of the Czar of Russia. We ate breakfast with the boys in the old wine room. Who can fail to see a new day in transformations like these? And what shall we say of American playgrounds in old Cracow, student hostels in Warsaw, and a dozen railroad Y. M. C. A.'s scattered along the line to the Russian frontier? The spirit of work and service is very much alive in Poland.

The new Baltic States—Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia and Finland—are now independent republics, having a hard pull, suffering from past and present effects of Russian Bolshevism, but gradually finding a way out. The general trend of these States is toward co-operation and mutual helpfulness. They are doing well, under all the circumstances, and though handicapped by lack of raw materials and machinery, are striving toward better days. With proper help, they will win out. The very optimism of these new nations in the face of many difficulties is full of promise for the future.

As for Sweden, Norway and Denmark—



Slovaks attending church on Sunday morning. The picturesque costumes help to dispel the idea that all is gloom in Europe since the war

they are always optimistic. It is the nature of the people, yet they have their problems. Norway, particularly, has had a difficult time with her attempts at prohibition. Other countries have said, "If you don't buy our wines, we won't buy your fish," and fish is Norway's greatest export. But even in this matter there is indication that the selfishness of nations will give way to a new spirit. Denmark is doing famously with her co-operative movement and with her adventures in social legislation, and is furnishing helpful object lessons in many ways. The Scandinavian nations have contributed generously to relieve the sufferings of the war-torn nations.

THE SITUATION IN GERMANY

What shall we say of Germany? Is there suffering, or is the cursory observer correct in saying that cafés and operas are always crowded and people forever spending? The cursory observer is correct—but many of the spenders are profiteers and foreigners, and underneath there is intense suffering. I recall an old man of seventy years in Hamburg, pulling potato peelings out of a garbage can, wrapping them up in newspaper for his evening meal—the only meal he would receive! The Quakers have done superb work, and in a single week have fed over 1,000,000 children in 8,364 centres in various parts of Germany. The American Relief Administration, Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., Student Relief Movement and other organizations have done superbly in Germany, as in other countries, and the Germans show every appreciation of what has been done to aid them.

Such service from British and American organizations has done much to soften the hearts of a defeated people; defeated, they feel keenly, by an unjust peace as well as by war. But the German people know they have been defeated. Let us not deceive ourselves. The Kaiser would not dare to enter his old empire again. Democracy is enthroned, and in that fact there is further hope. It is for the Allies to keep it enthroned, and to help the better element of the country to win out against the worst. That will involve many things, and, above all, a spirit of tolerance and

humanity which may set a new example for the world. The German people have had enough of war. "No more war," was the sign one saw most frequently in the great peace demonstrations in Berlin. "That's one of the swine who got us into all this trouble," exclaimed a workman, as he passed an officer. Long before the war was over, Germans in the trenches were calling it "the great swindle!" Many of the people are relieved that militarism has gone. The people of other nations will sooner or later demand the same thing of *their* Governments. The cost of great armies and navies is too great, and makes too much for the "chip-on-the-shoulder" attitude, with its consequent international dangers. The rank and file of the people of Europe have a terrific fear of another conflict, and it is doubtful if any nation will dare to make war without unusually good cause—unless it wishes to face revolt and revolution within its own borders. People are eager for sacrifice and service under wise leadership—but not in war. Who can fail to see this rainbow rising triumphant over the destruction of the storm?

BULGARIA AND TURKEY

Bulgaria is another of the difficult economic units created by the Peace Treaty. Even the Interallied Commissioners in Sofia admit that. The majority of the people did not want to enter the war, and certainly not on the side of the Central Powers. But the issue was forced, and the people are suffering the consequences. They are "grinning and bearing" it, and are manifesting a splendid spirit of work under baffling conditions. The Conscript Labor law has been a daring but not unsuccessful experiment thus far. In spite of all the bitterness, Bulgaria is charitable in defeat. The recent trials of the Bulgarian statesmen held responsible for Bulgaria's participation in the war are symptomatic of the new national spirit.

Bulgaria's neighbors—Jugoslavia, Greece and Rumania—have all acquired territory as a result of the war, and even Hungary is far better off than Austria. Yet all these countries are facing gigantic problems of race relationships and economics. I would be unfair if I did not admit that

there have been and still are bitter enemies and jealousies, but there are rifts in the clouds. Greece, despite her recent defeat at the hands of Turkey and her new revolution, has made a long step toward democracy.

Turkey is but a mockery of her former self. Yet the more one sees of the better class of Turks, the better one likes them. They have many sterling qualities when not moved by religious fanaticism. I have seen a Turkish motorman stop his car and lift a dog off the street car track with great solicitude. Yet the same man stirred by racial and religious hatred may butcher Armenians with relish. No one can excuse the massacres, but I wonder what would happen if the great powers gave the Turk a fair deal, instead of trying to outdo each other exploiting him and using him for their own selfish ends. Perhaps he might surprise the world. Meanwhile, he prays five times a day in his mosque, and hopes for better times. Robert College and other great American institutions are constantly calling to higher ideals and proving that American unselfishness is not dead, even as far as the Turk is concerned.

EUROPE FAR FROM HOPELESS

Such is the Continent of Europe! A picture, perhaps, far too optimistic. But we have heard so much of the dark side that it may encourage us to realize that it is not all dark. I am perfectly aware that Europe is in a fearful mess, and we are a part of the mess, whether we admit it or not. It is true that "the old gang" is still largely in control in many countries. It is true that the old diplomacy, selfishness and greed that made for war are still powerful. Capital and labor are militant. Some nations are starving while their neighbors grow fat. A moral apathy has developed since the war; divorce and immorality have increased, and home life is



Women at work in the Free City of Danzig. With the improvement in economic conditions, it is hoped that better means of haulage will be substituted

abnormal. Some people are still callous to the sufferings of former enemies, and pride themselves on the "let them starve" spirit—meaning by "them," I presume, mostly innocent babies! The exchange situation is almost hopeless; in several countries war debts are piling up, while some armies are growing. People are overburdened, even in victor countries, with staggering taxation and obligations. Prices are still high, and unemployment is serious. But saddest of all, perhaps, the young men and women of the nations from whom we expected so much, "jazz" merrily on, apparently giving little heed to the great issues of the day, and regretting that they could not get into "the big show," as some of them call the most terrible war in all history.

Yet Europe is far from hopeless. Underneath all the chaos is a new spirit of optimism, understanding, sacrifice, service and friendship. There is a growing realization that all the nations of Europe are suffering together. They are all stumbling toward a new light. They are hungry for right leadership, for a new religion—if you will—based on universal brotherhood. Even the great labor unrest is an evidence,

in the last analysis, of a groping for more fraternity. And through all the mist and the gloom every nation is turning blood-shot eyes toward America.

The feeling of every nation in Europe toward America was wonderfully expressed one evening by a delegation which came to see me in Spain. The leader knew no English, but he had memorized a six-word speech for the occasion. It was the best speech I ever heard: "We need; you can; you ought!" Most nations in Europe can justifiably say that to us. We have done much, but we must do still more if we are to save Europe and ourselves.

The rest of the message came to me forcibly in England. It was Armistice Day. Respect for the war's heroes expressed itself throughout the British Empire in a two minutes' silence. When the guns boomed at the appointed time, every wheel stopped turning. A coal man knelt down in his coal wagon, the carpenter stopped laying shingles and bowed his head, veterans of the war stood stiffly at attention, mothers who had given their only sons stared as tears fell from their eyes, but did not sob. Every heart knew its

own bitterness and its own hope. As I stood there in Whitehall, near the Cenotaph, it seemed as though the whole world must hear the message of that silence. "No more war. They have not died in vain! Peace on earth, good-will between men and nations! Hope, Co-operation, Friendship. Democracy, Sacrifice! A New Spiritual Leadership! America, play the game!"

Then the guns boomed again. So many thoughts—all in two minutes! The band played. He who imagines that it played "God Save the King," on such an occasion, does not understand the new Europe. Instead it played, and hundreds of thousands of people sang with one mighty voice:

"O God our help in ages past,
Our hope in years to come!"

Europe's silver lining! It seemed as though Europe had begun to realize that the ultimate solution of her vast problems is a spiritual one, and that exaggerated nationalism, hatred and suspicion must be supplanted by internationalism, brotherhood and service. This is the great task of the world today, and in that task America must have an increasing share.



Women street cleaners at Belgrade

IS THE VOLSTEAD ACT A FAILURE?

By EDWARD I. EDWARDS

Governor of New Jersey and Senator-Elect

Reply to the article in support of the act written for December Current History Magazine by Wayne B. Wheeler, Legislative Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of America—Facts and figures marshaled in a scathing denunciation of the Volstead regime as “a gigantic hypocrisy”

WHEN Wayne B. Wheeler, Legislative Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League, argues that a constitutional amendment and a Federal statute which prohibit the use of beverage liquors within the land limits of the United States, also operate to prevent the sale of strong liquors on ocean vessels carrying our flag, whether owned and operated by our Government or by private individuals [CURRENT HISTORY for December, 1922], he is not convincing. He is creating simply a smoke screen, to use a naval term, under cover of which the organization that he represents may launch some new torpedoes against the plate armor of the liberties of American citizens, and may hope to escape public indignation for its part in one of the most scandalous and disgraceful administrative chapters in the history of the United States.

No person of sound mind and speaking acquaintance with the law ever believed that the sale of liquor on United States vessels was legal while such sale was prohibited by law on shore. Much less could any one believe that a Government which had gone to the extreme limit of tyranny and oppression in order to prevent its citizens from drinking on land could find legal sanction, under existing enactments, for running floating bar-rooms in order to put money in its Treasury. I will acquit even Mr. Lasker, the Chairman of the Shipping Board, of cherishing any such belief. When he was cornered, of course, he was bound to assert that he thought the law was on his side, but his consistent effort to keep the practice secret is sufficient proof that he knew

how unstable was the position he occupied. It is well to review some of the facts in this situation. For many months after prohibition became effective on land the sale of liquors on United States ships, both Government and private vessels, on sea continued. The fact was well known by the comparatively small class that makes ocean voyages, but was not suspected by the great mass of the public. Advertisements of the liquor sold on Government vessels were published in newspapers printed abroad, though not, of course, in the United States. Some of the newspapers in my State of New Jersey took up the matter early last Spring and asked Mr. Lasker questions. An article in CURRENT HISTORY about this time reproduced not only advertisements which had appeared abroad, but also the liquor lists of United States liners.

Mr. Lasker evaded all definite answers. Finally, however, the weight of cumulative publicity forced an acknowledgment of the truth, and then “the fat was in the fire.” The form of asking the Attorney General for an opinion was gone through with; that opinion could be but to one effect. The sale of liquor under the United States flag, at sea, as well as on shore, was pronounced illegal, and Uncle Sam went out of the bootlegging business.

The point of this whole shameful business is this: The Anti-Saloon League, which has its emissaries in the lobbies of Congress and in every department of the Government, was aware of what the Shipping Board was doing, but if it ever protested it was in such a faint whisper that nobody ever heard of it. It cannot be

doubted that the league could have stopped the liquor traffic on sea had it wished. An organization which, by legal enactments, could prevent physicians from prescribing such remedies as they deem necessary to save the lives of patients was surely powerful enough to prevent the Government from engaging in a business which it had condemned on the ground of righteousness and morals. But the Anti-Saloon League did not choose to speak upon this occasion, thereby becoming particeps criminis and adding to the many other sins for which it has been indicted at the bar of public opinion, that of hypocrisy.

But though all may agree with Mr. Wheeler's opinion as to the bearing of the law on the situation, one may be pardoned from differing with his interpretation of the facts and his deductions therefrom. He would have us believe that the sale or non-sale of alcoholic beverages would constitute an inconsiderable factor in the effort to maintain a merchant marine. A sufficient answer to him is that within a few weeks four of our finest vessels have sought refuge under the flags of other countries.

PROSPERITY AND PROHIBITION

Nor can there be agreement with Mr. Wheeler's assumption that prosperity was the result of prohibition. It would not be remarkable that after an almost complete cessation of building because of the war, business properties were in demand and such saloons as had gone out of existence found lessees for the premises they had vacated in the artificial business boom following the close of the conflict. Every business man, however, knows that 1921, the second year of the prohibition régime, was the most disastrous that the country had experienced for a long period and that we were saved from complete commercial collapse only by the adoption of an improved banking system.

The reference to the prosperity of the wine-grape growers by Mr. Wheeler is peculiarly disingenuous. Does he really want us to believe that the wine grapes, which are unfit for eating purposes, are now being sold at from five to ten times pre-prohibition prices, because of an unexam-

pled demand from grape-juice makers? The plain fact of the matter is that the wine grapes are being sold in huge quantities all over the United States for home wine-making, and that there is much reason to believe, from the available records of shipments and sales, that the country is making and consuming more wine than ever before in its history.

This huge traffic and this enormous illicit manufacture are winked at by the Anti-Saloon League, which Mr. Wheeler so volubly represents. His organization cannot plead ignorance of the fact that the Federal officials with whom it is constantly in contact have officially ruled that homemade wines need not observe the lying Volstead standard of one-half of 1 per cent. of alcohol, and that the question of their intoxicating quality is one of fact and not of statutory assertion. It is quite apparent that this ruling, however prompted, operates in favor of the agricultural classes generally. The farmer has been the backbone of prohibition in this country, largely because he has been deceived as to its intents and effects by the professional propagandists of that faith. But even he could not be expected to support the system if his making of hard cider were interfered with.

Mr. Wheeler has been generous in offering his legal opinion to all and sundry. It would be interesting for him to explain how it may be legal for the rural resident to make wine or cider of a strength which the Volstead act declares intoxicating and criminal for the dweller in a city tenement to brew a malt beverage which exceeds one-half of 1 per cent. of alcohol by volume.

FAVORING CLASSES

This favoring of classes would seem to be inseparably imbedded in the prohibition system and inevitably connected with the policy and practice of the Anti-Saloon League. A Government traffic in liquor at sea is tolerated (until a popular explosion comes) in order that tighter bonds may be riveted upon those who are so unfortunate as to be kept on shore; the dwellings of the prosperous are protected against search without warrant, but the

prohibition agent is free from penalty if he invades the home of the poor man in violation of the Fourth Amendment and the major part of the Bill of Rights; the man with farm or garden or money to buy wine grapes can ignore the one-half of 1 per cent. standard, but the man who lives in the city slum must "watch his step" if he tries to brew a little beer.

Again Mr. Wheeler is scarcely convincing in his attempt to show an overwhelming popular demand for a system upon which its proponents dared not have the people of any State vote, even to the extent of having conventions instead of Legislatures pass upon it. But if it were true that the people wanted it, and that it was in response to their demand instead of to the demand of Anti-Saloon League lobbyists, that the Eighteenth Amendment was put through Congress and the State Legislatures, the people would still have a perfect right to change their minds about it. There are ample evidences in the recent elections that whatever the people thought of prohibition at one time they do not want it now.

CRIME STATISTICS

Those of us who have opposed prohibition from the moment it appeared as a truly national issue have been freely abused as "anarchists," "tools of the liquor traffic," "booze hounds" and otherwise. But we are finding abundant justification for our faith. I would not recite long statistical tables or go over the records of crime and public corruption, which may be familiar to many, but I cannot refrain from presenting one exhibit which seems to me to have particular significance.

The City of Newark, the largest in New Jersey, has had an enviable reputation for relative freedom from crime and disorder. With Rochester, N. Y., and Milwaukee, Wis., Newark has stood at the bottom of the list of American cities with respect to homicide, and her record in respect to other offenses against law has been creditable. The other day some figures from the great City Hospital of Newark fell into my hands. These figures may be summarized as follows:

CITY HOSPITAL OF NEWARK

	Alcoholic Cases Treated.	Sent Home After Treatment.	Requiring Hospital Treatment.
1919 (last non-prohibition year)	357	...	...
1920 (first prohibition year)	955	581	374
1921 (second prohibition year)	1,088	541	547
Eleven months of 1922 (third prohibition year)	1,518	52	1,466

It is particularly important to note the increase in the gravity of these cases. In 1920 61 per cent. of the alcoholic patients were suffering so little that they could be sent home after treatment; in 1921, 50 per cent. of the total were capable of going home; in the first eleven months of the present year only 4 per cent. could be thus treated, while 96 per cent. required regular hospital care for greater or less periods.

To illustrate another aspect I submit tables prepared by F. L. Hoffman, one of the most competent statisticians of the country, and first published in *The Spectator* (an insurance periodical) of Dec. 7, 1922. These tables graphically show the way murder is increasing in the United States, as follows:

TABLE NO. 1—CONSOLIDATED RETURN OF DEATHS FROM HOMICIDE IN 28 AMERICAN CITIES

Year.	Population.	Homicides.	Rate per 100,000 Population.
900.....	11,981,034	609	5.1
901.....	12,331,665	603	4.9
1902.....	12,611,765	621	4.9
1903.....	12,970,877	690	5.3
1904.....	12,956,583	729	5.6
1905.....	14,024,422	931	6.6
1906.....	14,851,650	1,148	7.7
1907.....	15,648,584	1,338	8.6
1908.....	16,056,800	1,272	7.9
1909.....	16,465,016	1,196	7.3
1910.....	16,873,233	1,365	8.1
1911.....	17,243,138	1,429	8.3
1912.....	17,613,045	1,464	8.3
1913.....	17,982,950	1,575	8.8
1914.....	18,352,856	1,566	8.5
1915.....	18,722,762	1,614	8.6
1916.....	19,092,668	1,742	9.1
1917.....	19,462,572	1,777	9.1
1918.....	19,832,478	1,672	8.4
1919.....	20,202,383	1,831	9.1
1920.....	20,571,897	1,756	8.5
1921.....	20,588,770	1,910	9.3
1911-1915.....	89,914,751	7,648	8.5
1916-1920.....	99,161,998	8,778	8.9

TABLE NO. 2—HOMICIDE RATE PER 100,000
POPULATION IN 28 CITIES

CITIES.	1911-1915.	1916-1920.	1921.
Baltimore, Md.....	5.8	7.9	11.3+
Boston, Mass.....	4.6	4.6	3.7
Buffalo, N. Y.....	5.1	5.4	4.8
Chicago, Ill.....	9.0	10.7	11.8+
Cincinnati, Ohio.....	12.2	11.6	15.2+
Cleveland, Ohio.....	6.6	12.7	10.3
Dayton, Ohio.....	6.7	7.8	10.1+
Hartford, Conn.....	3.9	4.2	1.4
Indianapolis, Ind....	9.8	9.1	12.9+
Los Angeles, Cal....	10.9	10.0	13.6+
Louisville, Ky.....	16.9	14.7	16.5+
Memphis, Tenn.....	69.7	60.9	56.8
Milwaukee, Wis.....	3.7	3.6	3.6
Minneapolis, Minn...	5.3	5.3	7.1+
Nashville, Tenn.....	35.9	21.0	35.1+
Newark, N. J.....	4.0	4.9	4.7
New Orleans, La.....	24.0	21.2	20.0
New York, N. Y....	5.9	5.0	6.2+
Philadelphia, Pa....	4.4	6.6	5.1
Pittsburgh, Pa.....	6.2	9.2	9.4+
Providence, R. I....	5.1	4.4	5.0+
Reading, Pa.....	2.4	1.9	4.6+
Rochester, N. Y....	3.5	2.7	4.2+
San Francisco, Cal...	13.0	11.4	9.8
Seattle, Wash.....	9.6	7.7	7.0
Spokane, Wash.....	9.9	4.6	8.6+
St. Louis, Mo.....	14.3	16.8	17.2+
Washington, D. C...	7.8	12.0	12.6+
Total, 28 cities....	8.1	8.5	9.3

Such records as this cannot be explained away. They serve to illustrate a condition that is common, in greater or less degree, to all of the country, and is becoming more aggravated every day that the prohibition ulcer continues to sap the life-blood of the body politic. It is, indeed, fortunate that the truth cannot longer be concealed or disguised, and that the people are becoming aroused to the perils which threaten the country. They cannot be frightened by epithets, and they are not in a mood to accept excuses or explanations. They are demanding with increasing emphasis that

the régime of hypocrisy and tyranny be brought to an end, and that a sane, reasonable and just method for control of liquor be adopted.

Though it is deplorable to read in the daily press every day of the open and brazen violations of the prohibition law, yet, after all, the reason for such violations is so obvious and simple that I am amazed that the press has not made more of it, and that is, that the definition of "intoxicating liquor" in the Volstead act is a lie, and is so absurd that it insults the intelligence of the American people.

It is the only criminal law that was ever passed in the United States, for criminal law it is, that had a lying definition of the crime to be punished if the law was violated. This is the whole matter in a nutshell.

The New York Times of Dec. 9 used language far better than is at my disposal on the subject. The concluding paragraph or its editorial entitled "Reasonable Prohibition" is as follows, and with this quotation I close my statement:

However unreasonable, the present law should be enforced to the letter so long as it remains on the statute books, but the unreasonableness of its definition of intoxicating liquor, the extension of the amendment to include liquor for medical purposes, the regulation of therapeutics by Congress and its indefensible dictation to physicians, strengthen every day opposition to the Congressional version or perversion of the Eighteenth Amendment, and the ineradicable suspicion or belief of the prohibition unit that everybody, of no matter how impeccable a business reputation, wicked enough to use alcohol in his business, must be a bootlegger, has disgusted a large number of business men. In the end reason is pretty sure to prevail, even over the Anti-Saloon League.

THE NEW TURKISH CALIPH

By M. ZEKERIA

Election of Abdul Medjid, the former Crown Prince of Turkey, as the thirty-eighth successor of Mohammed, without political power, an epoch-making event in the Moslem world—Evils resulting from a union of temporal and spiritual power abolished—The effect on Islam

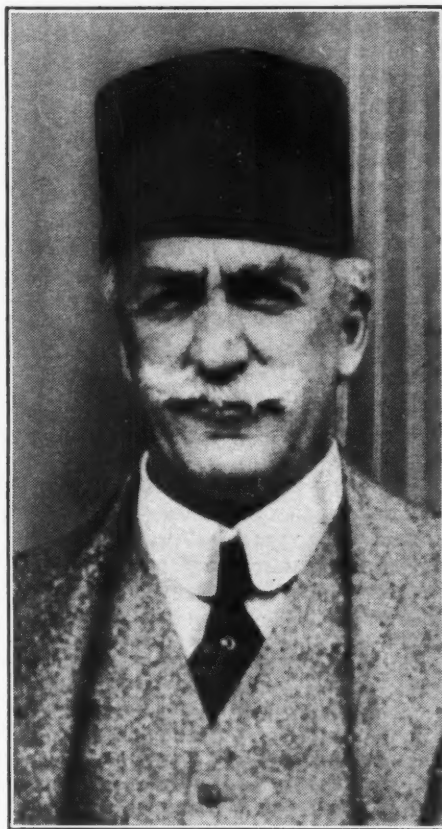
ABDUL MEDJID EFFENDI, the former Crown Prince of Turkey, is now the thirty-eighth successor of Mohammed, bearing the title of Defender of the Faith, and Caliph. He is the first to be invested with the Caliph's mantle without receiving political power. He was selected as the best qualified among the members of the Osman royal family in accordance with the decision passed in the Great National Assembly of Turkey on Nov. 1, 1922, which provided that the Caliphate should continue to be exercised by the royal family, and that he should be chosen by the National Assembly.

The election of the Caliph without political power is not only an epoch-making event in Islam, but has a vital importance to the whole world. About 300,000,000 Mohammedans are scattered over the globe. Half of them are under British rule, and at least 30,000,000 are subjects of France. There is no power today, including the United States, which does not

number some Mohammedans among its subjects.

In order to have a clear understanding of this important subject it is necessary to know, first, the theory of the Caliphate and the significance Mohammedans attach to it; secondly, the historical phases through which it has passed; and, thirdly, the meaning and effect of the actual position of the Caliph as the spiritual leader of the world of Islam.

Caliph means "successor" — the successor of the Prophet of Islam. The community formed by Mohammed was a political community, as well as a religious one. The leader of the community, therefore, must unite in his person both religious and temporal powers. The general conception of this early period required that the temporal ruler should be at the same time the religious ruler of the community. From the beginning of Islam to the end of the Ummeiyad dynasty the authority of the Caliph



(P. & A. Photos)

ABDUL MEDJID EFFENDI

The new Caliph, elected by the Turkish Nationalists in succession to the deposed Sultan, but without the temporal powers of the Sultans.

was co-terminous with the expansion of Islam. The Caliph was thus the only supreme power among the Mohammedans. That was not the case during the reign of Abbasid, when Islam was broken up into fragments and the authority of the Caliph was diminished. The temporal power of the Caliph then vanished, and the Moslem world was divided between rival claimants for the spiritual leadership.

It was then that the Sultan Selim II. appeared on the scene. He held all the holy cities, and was by far the most powerful Moslem ruler of his time. Having acquired valuable relics of the Prophet, including the holy standard, he declared himself the Caliph of the Moslem world, uniting the spiritual power of the Caliphate with the temporal power of the Sultanate. From that time on the spiritual leadership of the Mohammedans has been in the hands of the Sultan of Turkey. The Sultan has not only been the political ruler of Turkey, but as the Caliph he has had the devotion of all the Moslems as a whole.

The identification of the Ottoman Sultanate with the Moslem Caliphate reaches nearly as far back as the year 1520. For the last four centuries the spiritual leadership of the Moslem world has been in the hands of the Sultan in Constantinople. This fact has given to Turkish policy a consistent religious character. The Turkish Sultan, by the mere fact of his title, was the Defender of the Faith and the protector of the Mohammedans. As such he has enjoyed great prestige all over the Islamic world. The European powers used this prestige for quieting the discontent of their Mohammedan subjects. During the last century, however, Turkey has lost her influential position, and consequently could not keep the same prestige that she had before. Her control over tributary States has shrunk until her European territory is limited to the small strip of land surrounding Constantinople.

At the same time, a great majority of the Moslem population of the world have been attached in one way or other during the last century to foreign rules. The temporal power of the Caliphate has become obsolete. The prestige that the Caliph possessed in the Islamic world was due to his title rather than to his temporal power. As

long as the Moslem nations were free from a foreign yoke, and all the Moslems were under the material rule of the Caliph, the political authority of the Caliph was a necessity for the defense of the faith. But now that Turkey had lost all her Moslem colonies, and had become powerless to protect the other Mohammedan nations, it was ridiculous to talk about the temporal power of the Caliph. Islam has suffered much humiliation during the last centuries, and yet the Caliph has never used his temporal power in the defense of the faith. The Great National Assembly of Turkey, by abolishing the temporal power of the Caliph, has made an end to this anomaly. Hereafter the Caliph will be considered only as a spiritual authority. He will be in the same position in regard to the Moslem world as the Pope is in regard to the Catholic Christians.

This purely spiritual Caliphate, in the sense of a Caliphate divested of political sovereignty, is far from being a novelty, as we can see by tracing the Ottoman Caliphate back to its origin. When Sultan Selim reached Egypt and took the Caliphate in his hand, the last Abbasid Caliph lived in the Royal Court of Egypt as the pensioner of the King. The Abbasid Caliph, after the devastation and invasion of his country by the armies of Ghenghis Khan, had taken refuge in Egypt, and lived there as purely spiritual head of the Moslems.

AN EVIL INFLUENCE IN TURKEY

To reduce the authority of the Caliphate to a spiritual leadership is not the only result of the decision of the National Assembly of Turkey. The unification of temporal and spiritual powers in the person of the Sultan exerted an evil influence upon the political and social institutions of Turkey. The Sultan of Turkey was at the same time the head of the Moslem Church. This fact has been an impediment to the modernization of the form of government, and of the social institutions of the country. Religion had its influence on politics, on family life, on laws, and on all other phases of social life. It is true that when the Moslem Church was at its zenith it was a great power for good. Art and science flourished under its patronage. A school

was connected with every mosque. But the time has passed when Church and State lived hand in hand. The struggle between the spiritual and temporal power ended long ago in the civilized world with the complete separation of these two incompatible forces. The establishment of the Turkish National Government, and the separation of the Caliphate from all its temporal powers, marks, therefore, the latest of a series of separations of Church and State. The Moslem religion now seems destined to lose not only its control, but even its connection with temporal power. This is an epoch-making change in Islam. From that point of view the decision of Angora is a move toward democracy, which should go far to bring not only the Turkish State but also the Moslem world into line with modern political and democratic conceptions.

The decision of the Great National Assembly, moreover, will ultimately tend to restore the Caliphate to its original authority and prestige. It should be remembered that the first Caliphs after the death of the Prophet were selected by the Moslem community. The Caliphs that followed them down to the present have legally held their places by the choice of those learned in the law of Islam, and by the people who ratify their choice. The Caliphate cannot be inherited. According to the requirements laid down at the beginning of the Caliphate, the holder of this great office must be the choice of a legal body of those learned in the law of Islam. Even the Sultans of Turkey, who in fact inherited this title, apparently fulfilled this requirement by assuming the title of Caliph amid the utterances and acclamations of Ulemas present in the mosque when they were girded with the ancient weapon of their ancestors. In reality, however, the Sultan inherited the title of Caliph by the mere reason that he had become the Sultan of Turkey. This fact was the cause of some grievances among the Moslem nations against Turkey, and was used by the European powers as a means of propaganda against the prestige of the Caliphate. The reversion to the elective system, therefore, is quite in consonance with the organic Moslem law, and as such it will help to relieve further misunderstandings among the Mohammedans.

One of the most important requirements of the Caliphate is that the Caliph shall be wholly independent of any species of non-Moslem influence or coercion. As Turkey is now the only independent Moslem nation on the earth, and as her capital is the only place where the Moslem law is interpreted by Ulemas under no foreign rule, it is natural that the Caliph should be selected from among the Turks and sit in the Turkish capital. All the Moslem nations are unanimous in this view. The Great National Assembly, taking this fact into consideration, has decreed that until the deliverance of the other Mohammedan nations from the foreign yoke the Caliphate shall belong to the Osman family, and that the National Assembly shall select the most upright, honest and best instructed member of that family to occupy the seat of the Caliphate, which will have the entire strength of the Turkish State behind it.

The decision of the National Assembly, however, will be meaningless unless it receives directly or indirectly the approval of the whole of the Sunni-Moslem world. In order to validate his title the Caliph must receive the "Biat," or sacramental oath, from the whole of the Sunni-Moslems. From that point of view the repercussion of Angora's decision in the Islamic world is very important.

EFFECT ON THE MOSLEM WORLD

So far no objection has been raised in the Moslem world against the decision of the National Assembly. On the contrary, there are many evidences of approval from the different parts of the world of Islam. The Indian Caliphate Committee, which represents 75,000,000 Mohammedans of India, immediately cabled its approval to the Turkish delegation at the Lausanne Peace Conference. The Egyptian Nationalist delegation at Lausanne declared in a public interview that "the Turks have a right to overthrow the Sultan and Caliph and select a new Caliph for the place." The hundreds of millions of Mohammedans living in Russia, in Turkestan, in Afghanistan and in the other parts of Asia have already declared that they recognize the new Caliph elected by Angora as the legitimate spiritual head of the world of Islam. Only the attitude of the Arabs remains to be seen.

THE GREEK TREASON TRIALS

By S. S. PAPADAKIS

The inception of the movement to court-martial the late Ministers responsible for the Asia Minor disaster—Historic speech of Colonel Plasteras the keynote of the nation's feeling which resulted in the executions of Premier Gounaris and his colleagues

THE political responsibility of the leaders who have governed Greece hitherto has been emphasized in the past, but those leaders at fault were usually punished "politically," that is, simply by being stripped of their political power. The Asia Minor disaster, however, so stirred the soul of the people that they decided to ask "penal responsibilities" of those leaders that were responsible for the catastrophe. Those leaders have now suffered the extreme penalty. To understand the motive for their execution it is necessary to go back to Oct. 9, 1922, after the revolution occurred.

On that date, through the initiative of the different community organizations of Athens, over 120,000 people gathered on the square in front of the Old Palace. There the representative of the Board of Commerce and Industry addressed the members of the Revolutionary Committee, assuring them that the people of Athens and Piraeus and with them the people of all Greece would back the program of the revolution. The Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee then stated the objectives of the revolution. When Colonel Plasteras, the "soul of the revolution," came to the front of the royal balcony to address the people, the thousands that were on the Square burst into thunderous applause. For about ten years Plasteras has been a national hero. In the last disaster, when the Greek Army was retreating, he alone fought with his regiment of "Evzones," trying to check the Turkish advance in order to give time to the rest of the army as well as to the unarmed population to embark for Greece. In these continuous battles he was wounded in both arms, but he refused to dismount, and continued

the march, holding the reins with his teeth. When he reached the Island of Chios, Colonel Plasteras conceived the idea of a national revolution to overthrow the pro-German King Constantine and the Gounaris Cabinet, as well as to punish those responsible for the Smyrna disaster. The best elements in the Greek Army flocked around him. The Greek fleet also joined the movement. The revolution succeeded, overthrew King Constantine and the Government, and made a triumphant entry into the capital.

Colonel Plasteras spoke as follows; in the light of the recent executions his words have historical importance:

In the name of the revolution, I thank you. This general gathering of the people today, like that which occurred on the day when the revolutionary army entered Athens, is a reinforcement and justification of the revolution. It is also a consolation and a hope in the midst of this tragic period of mourning and pain for our vast national calamity.

Greeks, my brothers, who ever expected, after the bright days of glory that we celebrated, to meet today, people and army, to weep over the ruins? Who ever expected that yonder, in Ionia, our Ionia, the Greek Army, the victor of the Balkan wars, the triumphant heroes of the great war, would suffer the shame of defeat and retreat, and forsake in its extremity a Greek country which the barbarous Turk would deliver to devastation, massacre and flame?

When the catastrophe of Ionia and Thrace was completed, the great criminals, with the meanness and cowardice that always characterized them, tried to throw on others their terrible responsibilities. They said: "The defeat, the catastrophe, is due to the army, because the army did not want to fight." This is a slander! The army in its struggle had been betrayed. The leaders, the majority, to whom the now abolished régime confided the Government, were despicable; they were worthy tools of an absolutism; but they were unworthy of the army. The different Govern-

ments in turn, which for two years left the army without any financial aid, with no reinforcement of its morale and which systematically undermined the national faith, were also unworthy of Greece.

I speak to the people of Athens, and I wish to be heard by all the Greek Nation. We will not suffer false accusation against the noble children of Greece, our brave war comrades who in Ionia wrote with their blood superb pages of self-sacrifice and heroism. The Greek Army has always been, as it is now in Thrace, worthy of the fatherland. The responsible, guilty criminals were the political and military leaders, the courtiers, who placed a King above the country; who estranged Greece from her natural allies; who with persecutions and imprisonments and hired assassins crushed the nation's cry of agony; who, guided by their interests and their passions, drove out virtue and rewarded cowardice, renounced the Greek race and prepared to diminish Greece to small proportions and cover her with shame. These were the foes of the fatherland. Let them be cursed for ever.

We are weeping today over the ruins. But it would be unworthy, cowardly, of the people and of the army if grief should overpower them, if they should yield to the calamity. The nation has suffered many trials; but it always resisted, fought and revived. Now we are going through a similar crisis. But we will not be overpowered, we will not die and we will refuse to admit inferiority to an insolent and barbarous race whose extension beyond its natural boundaries is a shame to modern civilization.

And we will live! Nor will we ever forget or deny that we are heirs of a glorious history and that our destination is great. The revolutionary Government will do its full duty. It will clear the past. It will face the present. It will prepare the future. *The great criminals will be punished.* The tragedy requires purification. It needs expiation. It needs again a healthy atmosphere. And there is need to establish the example and tradition in this country that the "enemies of the fatherland" shall be punished.

The army will be reorganized. Governed by inspiring leaders, it will again prove worthy of our country. Always above all parties, the revolutionary Government, acting as the national conscience, will faithfully and devotedly try to unite and to save.

The people also must do their duty. The revolution cannot last. The fate of the people will again be in their own hands. In the present critical times the people should know that they are responsible to history and to the race. The blundering, the credulous blindness which has cost the nation so much, shall never be repeated.

The will of the Greek people must be expressed unreservedly, solemnly, unanimously. It must seek re-establishment of friendly relations with our traditional allies, and all weaknesses, interests and passions must be over-

come. Under the flag of the National Coalition the reconciliation of all Greeks must be wrought. Salvation is impossible, if all of us do not learn to seek our personal happiness in that of our country. Political regeneration and national safety must be erected on the foundations of the soul and conscience of the people, for only thus will it be safe and lasting.

With this appeal and in this hope and faith the revolutionary Government sends to the Greek people a hearty and fraternal greeting.

The concluding words of Colonel Plasteras were not heard because of the shouts of the people: "Death to the traitors! Hurrah for the Republic!"

Mr. Typaldos, the President of the Labor Unions of Greece, then read the following resolution:

The people of Athens, Piraeus and surroundings, in the conviction that they represent the feeling and spirit of the whole Greek Nation, having met today, Sunday, Oct. 9, in a general meeting, resolve:

1. The Greek people having from the very first moment unanimously and with enthusiasm accepted the principles of the revolution, by today's general, national demonstration, ratifies the program of the revolutionary Government and decides, with absolute unanimity, to strengthen the work of national defense and the regeneration of the country.

2. It approves of King Constantine's compulsory resignation and decrees that he shall not, under any circumstances, return to the Greek throne.

3. It declares its unshaken faith that Greece must stand with her natural and traditional friends and allies, by whose side she fought. It asks the revolutionary Government to do its best to remove all mistrust caused by the immediate past.

4. It expresses its deepest sympathy to the Greeks of Thrace and Asia Minor who suffered directly from the national catastrophe.

5. It orders that the committee shall communicate the present resolution to the Revolutionary Committee, the Cabinet and the representatives of the allied powers.

As a result of the above meeting, the former Premiers Gounaris, Stratos, Protopapadakis, also Ministers Baltadjis, Stratigos, Goudas and Theotokis, as well as the former commander-in-chief of the Asia Minor army, General Hadjianestis, were imprisoned and sent before a special court-martial, accused of political and penal responsibilities for the Asia Minor disaster. The recent executions that have startled the world can be understood only in the light cast by the burning resentment expressed by the words of Colonel Plasteras, reproduced above.

MONTENEGRO AS A PART OF JUGOSLAVIA

By TOMO SARGENTICH

Montenegro, the brave little nation immortalized by Tennyson, whose rocks and hills were ever held virgin against the Turkish onslaught for many centuries, and who alone of all the Balkan States successfully repelled time and time again the followers of the Crescent, has, we have recently been told, lost its "independence" by uniting with its brethren, the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, in an ethnic Yugoslavia. It was stated by the delegates of the defunct Montenegrin Government, at the conference held in Genoa, that the Montenegrins were being oppressed and tyrannized by the Serbians and governed against their will. Cablegrams to the press in the United States corroborated these charges and enlarged upon them. It is a strange "coincidence" that all this information comes from Italian sources, and that these cablegrams were all dated from Rome. The Queen of Italy is the daughter of the late King Nicholas of Montenegro. No other explanation is necessary.

Has Montenegro really lost her "independence"? If the little Italian States of Sicily, Tuscany, Piedmont and Naples, prior to 1870 independent and governed by Princes, lost their "independence" by uniting with Italy, thereby creating the present Italy—people of one blood and language—then, and only then, have the Montenegrins lost their "independence" by joining their brethren of the same blood, language and customs in Serbia, Croatia and Slavonia. A similar case can be cited in Germany, where Bavaria and other small States joined with Prussia in forming the great German Empire, only recently dissolved by the World War.

The Montenegrins (Cernagorci) are Serbs pure and simple. Mr. Gladstone once described them as "the very flower of the Serbian race." It may interest Americans to recall that after the great disaster to the Serbian Army at Kossovo, June 28,

1389, when the unnumbered hosts of Turks flooded and destroyed the Balkans and came to the very gate of Vienna, the few Serbs who survived after that terrible battle took refuge in the impregnable mountains of Montenegro, and there they stood and fought for the cross, for honor and Serbian liberty (*za Krst, casni, i Srpsku Slobodu*), and became the guardians of the ancient glory of the past Serbian Empire, ever remembering the sacrifices of their brothers at the field of Kossovo. The men of Montenegro have ever since worn on their caps a black band in memory of that tragic "*débâcle*."

My brother, Civilian Administrator in Montenegro, with residence at Cetinje, writes to me apropos of the elections held upon the question of uniting with Serbia that the vote was almost unanimous for unity, that there were no disorders, and that intense enthusiasm was displayed by men, women and children. Furthermore, a large delegation from nearly all the districts of Montenegro journeyed to Belgrade to be present at the marriage ceremonies of their new King and Queen. They were all laden with presents for the new rulers. Considering their poverty and the long journey, such a pilgrimage surely represents the strongest evidence of love and loyalty.

The appeals and protests regarding Montenegro are made mostly by a handful of discredited followers of the late King Nicholas, whom many of his own people call the "Benedict Arnold of Lovcen" [a stronghold dominating the Bay of Bocche di Cattaro which King Nicholas surrendered to the Austrians without firing a single shot]. These appeals and protests were not taken seriously at Genoa, neither did they gain favor at The Hague, and the attempt to enlist American sympathy and support by the same methods will, it is hoped, meet the same fate here.

RUSSIA'S DEPARTURE FROM STATE SOCIALISM

By ALEXANDER I. NAZAROFF

The old economic policy, and its effect upon the Russian peasants—Why the new policy was initiated, and the reasons why it failed alike in agriculture and industry—The financial debacle a direct effect of the new measures—Outlook for the future not encouraging

ALMOST two years have passed since March, 1921, when the Soviets announced the inauguration of the new economic policy. In the years 1919-21 the original scheme of State socialism attained its full development, and the Soviet leaders admitted that it had proved to be a failure. The change of 1921 was meant to combine the two principles—that of State socialism and that of private initiative. The time that elapsed since that idea was announced enables us to judge of the results of its application.

The reader will remember that the Soviets have "monopolized" or "nationalized" the foodstuffs market since 1917. The peasants had to hand over to the State all the surpluses of grain, cattle, and so forth, without receiving in exchange any equivalent to speak of. Even the seeds needed for the promotion of the cultivation were to be requisitioned. The Government had to redistribute them among the peasants again, so as to submit the rural economics to a "unified plan." The peasants were liable to heavy penalties for trying to avoid requisitions. Such was the old economic policy which was applied for three and a half years.

The results of this policy were twofold. On the one hand, the peasants opposed obstinately the plunder of their resources by the State. Mr. Briukhanov, the Food Commissar, confessed at the Fourth Russian Congress of Food Supply that "the peasants replied by uprisings and riots to the system of requisitions" (*Economicheskaya Zhizn*, March 21, 1922). Almost every Soviet paper picked up at random

for the years 1919 or 1920 records the armed encounters between the peasants and the "food detachments" sent out to requisition foodstuffs.

On the other hand, requisitions gave the Russian peasant a strong psychological reason for contracting the agricultural production to the proportions sufficient to satisfy only his own needs. Why should he produce any surpluses, since they were going to be wrested from him? The poorer he was, the less was the danger of requisition. Thus the old Soviet policy distorted the very foundations of economic life. Production became senseless.

Lenin understood the disastrous results of this system. Speaking at the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party in favor of the new economic policy, he said: "We must state frankly that the peasants are dissatisfied with the existing forms of life, that they do not want them, that they will not tolerate them any longer" (Quoted from the *Economicheskaya Zhizn* of March 16, 1921).

THE NEW POLICY'S FAILURE

The new economic policy was an attempt to meet the aspirations of the peasants. Its main principles with regard to agriculture were as follows: The requisitions were replaced by the "tax in kind," which was meant to deprive the peasants of only a part but not of the total (as the practice used to be) of the surpluses available. The peasants were permitted at the same time to sell the rest of the surpluses to the co-operative societies. Thus, these meas-

ures were aimed at restoring to a certain extent the economic freedom of the peasants. They proved, however, to be a desperate failure. The situation of the peasants remained practically unchanged.

The main reason for this failure was that the new economic policy came too late, at a time when peasants had no surpluses whatsoever. A few figures will be sufficient to support this contention. According to the estimate made by Mr. Popov, the Director of the Moscow Central Statistical Bureau, the rural population now residing in the territory of Russia consumed before the war about 2,452,000,000 poods of cereals per annum (fodder for the cattle and seeds included). Meanwhile, the gross yields in cereals in 1920 and 1921 amounted to 2,200,000,000 and 1,900,000,000 poods, respectively, as against 3,409,000,000 poods of average pre-war crops for the period of 1909-12 (*Pravda*, July 24, 1921). In other words, Russia does not produce at the present time enough grain even to keep her rural population alive.

It is natural that under these circumstances the tax in kind (about 180,000,000 poods), which was levied in the course of the last (famine) year, really deprived the peasants of what they needed for themselves, and not of "a part of the surpluses." And the peasants have shown that their attitude toward the new method used by the Government remained the same as it had been toward the requisitions. The official *Isvestia* (Feb. 1, 1922) describes as follows the conditions under which the tax was levied: "It was necessary to resort not only to propaganda, but also to compulsory measures. * * *

There were places into which the authorities were obliged to introduce troops, which were fed at the expense of the population until the tax was collected." Mr. A. Svidersky, the spokesman of the Soviet Government at the Fourth Congress of Food Supply, stated that, according to his information, "coercive measures were applied in 500,000 cases." In December, 1921, we learn from the *Isvestia* (No. 270, 1921), "Comrade Lenin ordered the coercive machinery to be ready and the revolutionary tribunals to be sent out to the villages."

Thus, the tax in kind was practically equivalent to the requisitions; this is also proved by the fact that the amount of food-stuffs bought by the co-operative societies from the peasants was almost equal to zero (*Prodovolstvennaia Gazeta*, March 2, 1922). The peasants had nothing to sell.

It is clear from the official data given above that the Soviet State cannot exist without exploiting the peasants, for otherwise grain cannot be obtained. Every bushel of grain levied by the Government, however, means the reduction of the area under crops; to keep themselves alive the peasants have to eat the reserves which otherwise would be used for the promotion of cultivation. In this lies the explanation of Russia's progressing agricultural ruin. The area under crops is being reduced every year. Before the war it was equal to about 78,000,000 dessiatins; the war and the first phase of the revolution reduced it by only 8½ per cent. In 1920, however, it was contracted by 25.7 per cent.; in 1921 by 33.7 per cent.; in 1922 the reduction attained 45.9 per cent. Consequently, the yield of 1922 was reaped on an area surpassing by little one-half of Russia's pre-war acreage. This fact would be sufficient in itself to prove that in the second half of this Winter Russia is bound to pass again through a period of starvation, famine and desolation. The optimistic statements made by Litvinov at The Hague, and by some of the Soviet leaders at Moscow, to the effect that Russia will be able in the course of this year not only to satisfy her own needs, but even to export some of her grain, was simply an attempt at "bluffing" Europe. It is perfectly clear that Russia produced this year about 2,000,000,000 poods of grain,* that is to say, less than in 1920, and only a trifle more than in 1921 (famine year). Thus, Russia is again short of about half a billion poods to satisfy the needs of her rural population, not to speak of city residents. The famine of every preceding year is followed with a logical inevitability by a famine in the following year, for the simple reason that

*Such is the figure mentioned by the Central Statistical Bureau (*Economicheskaya Zhizn*, Sept. 10, 1922). Most of the Soviet economists give more optimistic figures, but one can hardly think they are right.

the production is continuously shrinking. The main purpose of the new economic policy was to raise the agricultural production. The two years' experience shows that this purpose was not attained. It will not be attained until the Government gives up the idea of levying any amounts of foodstuffs from the villagers, irrespective of what is the name of these levies—requisitions or taxation. Moreover, the peasants need foodstuffs from outside to cover the deficiency in their own budget. As long as the Soviet Government continues to deprive them of what they produce, the progressing agricultural ruin will not stop.

The above facts enable us to form an adequate idea of the conditions under which Russia's industrial life is going on. Before the war the income derived by the peasants from agriculture was estimated at over 2,000,000,000 gold rubles per year. It is upon this figure that Russia's industrial life was based, for such was the sum spent by the peasants for the manufactured goods turned out by Russia's mills and factories. What is this market reduced to at the present time? Almost to zero, and the Soviet statisticians are aware of this fact. The above quoted Mr. Popov (Chief of the Central Statistical Bureau) stated that the Russian peasants spent in the course of the year 1919-20 for manufactured goods only one-seventh of what they used to spend before the war. In the course of the year 1920-21 their buying capacity fell to one-tenth of the pre-war figure (*Economicheskaya Zhizn*, No. 71, 1922). This is, however, a very optimistic estimate, and one of the most eminent Russian economists, M. Braikevich (chief editor of the Russian Economist Journal, published in London), thinks that this figure is about 50 per cent. lower than shown above. In other words, the buying capacity of the Russian peasants is at the present time between 100,000,000 and 200,000,000 gold rubles (\$50,000,000 to \$100,000,000). It is natural that starving people should not be able to spend more than that for agricultural implements, shoes, clothing, and so forth, however great their need for these articles may be. The conclusion that follows logically I will formulate with M. Braikevich's words:

"The communistic industry has no customers, and, consequently, has no purpose of producing anything. It has become purposeless and senseless, it has come to its logical end, to its natural death" (*Posliednia Novosti*, Paris, Sept. 20, 1922).

DISASTROUS EFFECT ON INDUSTRY

From the end of 1919 Russia's nationalized industry was supplied with raw materials by the State. Workmen received food rations also from the State, which requisitioned foodstuffs from the peasants. The goods thus produced were distributed to the population, mostly gratuitously. Thus, *money played in the life of the country a virtually negligible rôle*, and the Soviet leaders dreamed even of abolishing it. (This scheme was to have been carried out in April, 1921, but at the end of 1920 it was given up for good.)

The new economic policy, as regards industries, changed this situation. Small enterprises which form an insignificant percentage of Russian industries were denationalized and offered for lease. The Government retained all the basic industries of the country under its control, but they were "decentralized" and placed on a "commercial basis"; every "trust" combining a series of kindred enterprises had henceforth to provide itself with the bulk of its raw materials,* buying them for money from other "trusts," and adjusting the production so as to pay its own way. Workmen were to be paid also in money, but the wage basis was to guarantee them a certain "minimum food ration." At the same time trade was authorized. Money thus acquired an enormous importance. The consumer had also to buy the goods for money instead of receiving them gratuitously.

The application of the new economic policy effected in the course of the last three months of the year 1921 a considerable improvement in the realm of industry. The output of the Russian factories, mills and smelting plants surpassed that of May, June and July, but did not attain that of January, February and March of the same year.

*The Government supplies only a part of raw materials needed.

This short period of prosperity was, however, followed by a new breakdown. As early as January and February, 1922, it became evident that even this meagre production, equal to one-seventh to one-tenth of the pre-war figures, could not be marketed for the reason given above. The buying capacity of the country had fallen too low. The consumer who gladly accepted the goods offered to him by the nationalized industry refuses to buy them now because he is unable to pay. Already in March, 1922, Mr. Lomov, former President of the Supreme Council of National Economy, stated that the supply surpassed by ten to a hundred times the demand for the manufactured goods (*Economicheskaya Zhizn*, No. 72). This was the beginning of the crisis known under the paradoxical name of the period of overproduction; it did not come to a close until October, 1922, and its results proved ruinous for Russian industry, which was already ruined.

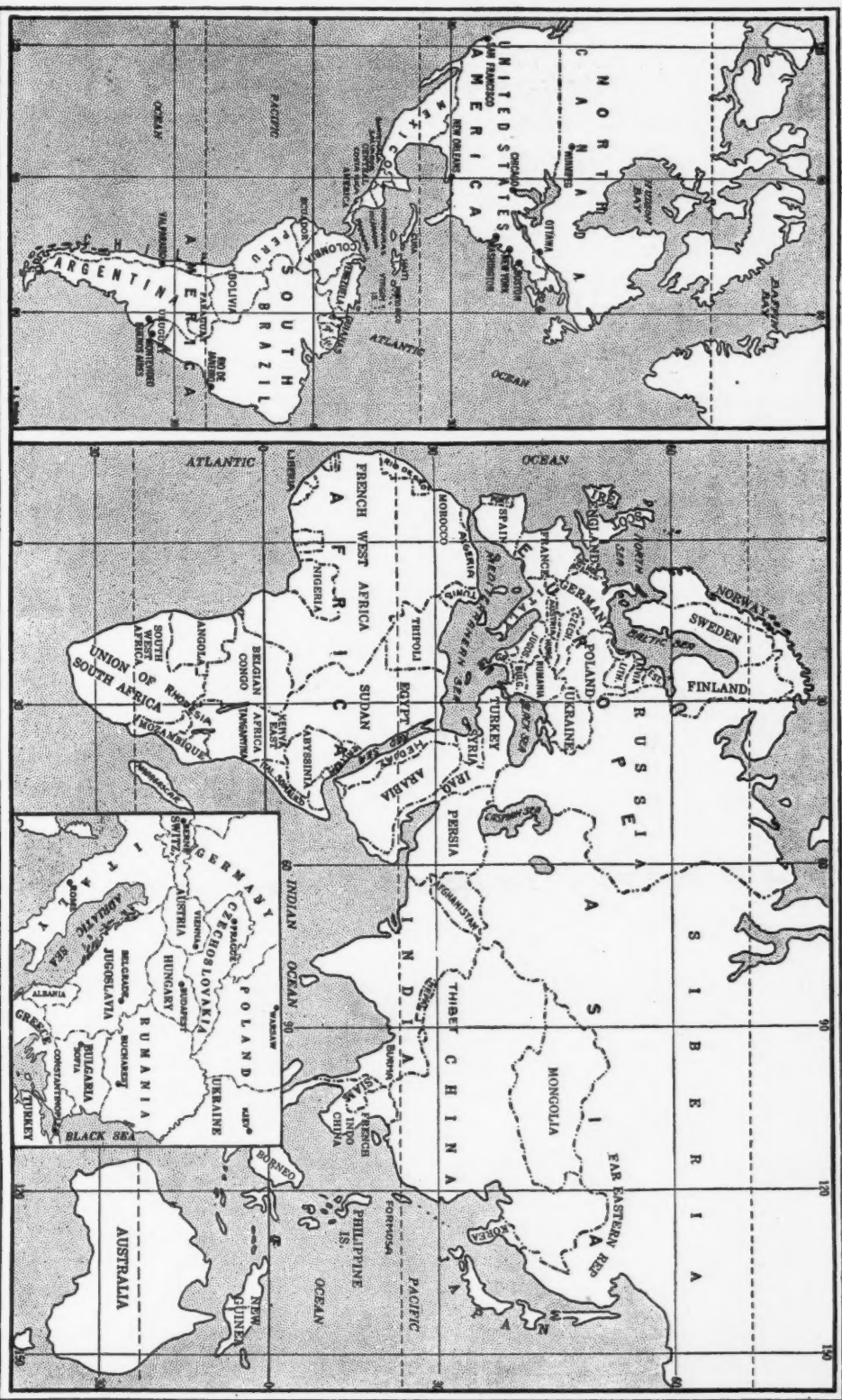
The industrial trusts have found themselves unable to sell their products at a price which would cover the cost of production (raw materials, wages equivalent to food rations, and so forth), and consequently their indebtedness to one another and to their workmen is growing with appalling rapidity. I will quote a few examples for the Summer and Fall of 1922. In September the railways owed to the Donetz Basin 6.5 trillion rubles, and therefore the miners were not paid for a long time their wages (*Isvestia*, Sept. 22, 1922). The metallurgical industry needed in the course of the last six months of 1922 a subsidy from the State estimated at from 4.7 to 5.7 trillion rubles per month, provided the work would continue only in a few plants; otherwise the subsidy would surpass by far these figures.

Unable to cope with the situation, the Government began on April 7, 1922, a systematic closing up of enterprises which could not adjust their expenditures to their income (*Economicheskaya Zhizn*, No. 92, 1922). At first it was thought that this compulsory reduction of the production would not go far; and that the crisis would not last long. But already in June the *Economicheskaya Zhizn* published new schemes of the industrial "rolling up" (such is the expression used by the Soviet

press) elaborated by the Council of Labor and Defense. These schemes provided for a much more considerable curtailment of all branches of industry than had been originally intended. On Sept. 25 the Supreme Council of National Economy went still further. It examined a report, according to which the following curtailments were to be carried out: Out of 22 metallurgical plants in Southern Russia, 15 were to be closed up, 5 were to reduce their output and only 2 were to continue normal work; out of 40 metallurgical plants of the Ural, 37 were to close up and only 3 to work; out of 266 chemical works, 127 were already closed, and 2 more were to be added to this figure; out of 1,240 timber works, only 320 or 330 were to continue work (*Isvestia*, Sept. 27, 1922). We do not know how far this débâcle will go or when it will stop. But it can be stated that the most dangerous period is still ahead. It will begin with the end of the Winter. At the present time the Soviet industries have at their disposal the stocks of raw materials reduced by 30 to 60 per cent., as compared with a year ago, and these stocks are being used up quicker than new supplies come. The Government is unable to maintain at a satisfactory level even the output of such vital sources of coal supply as the Donetz Basin, where the production fell from 53,000,000 poods in December, 1921, to 30,000,000 poods in May, and to 22,400,000 poods in July, 1922 (*Economicheskaya Zhizn*, Aug. 16 and Sept. 10, 1922).

The new policy brought the Soviet industries into a more or less free market. This, however, only made clearer the accumulated results of the ruin which had been wrought upon Russia's economics by the preceding years of nationalization, and accelerated the process of the general economic débâcle, which found expression in the progressing inflation of currency. Never before has the depreciation of the paper rubles been so rapid as now. In December, 1921, one gold ruble was equal to 80,000 paper rubles. In October, 1922, the rate was one gold ruble to 4,500,000 paper rubles (*Isvestia*, Oct. 7, 1922). Such is the heavy price Russia has to pay for the unsuccessful results of the communistic experiment.

MAPS OF THE COUNTRIES REFERRED TO IN "EVENTS OF A MONTH"



EVENTS OF A MONTH THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

[PERIOD ENDED DEC. 10, 1922]

UNITED STATES

PRESIDENT HARDING, in his annual message delivered Dec. 8 before the Senate and House of Representatives assembled in joint session, submitted a considerable number of proposals for Congressional consideration, but indicated at the outset that he did not expect action on them all at the present session, which ends March 4, 1923. Although his statements on international affairs were brief, they indicated important possibilities, giving the impression, as manifested especially by Senators, that he favored an extension of the principle of the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments to cover new moves for the peace and economic rehabilitation of the world. It was understood that the Administration contemplated calling another international conference, or entering into active diplomatic exchanges with nations concerned, to conclude a joint agreement on maintenance of peace among Governments with territory on the Atlantic or adjacent to its waters. Much of this was inferred from the following paragraph of the President's message:

"The four-power pact, which abolishes every probability of war on the Pacific, has brought new confidence in a maintained peace, and I can well believe it might be made a model for like assurances wherever in the world any common interests are concerned."

The President defended the attitude of his Administration in international affairs. Although commending "the hostility of the American people to a super-Government, or to any commitment where either a council or an assembly

at leagued nations may chart our course," he contended that the United States was playing a "helpful part" in the world. He insisted that America had shirked no duty in helping struggling nations toward rehabilitation and adjustment and that it had lived up to its international obligations.

For the benefit of La Follette's Radical-Progressive bloc, in discussing domestic affairs, President Harding scored Government operation, citing such operation during the war as an example of its inefficiency and incompetence. Also, he recommended replacing the Railway Labor Board with a non-partisan tribunal as a division of the Interstate Commerce Commission, to be composed of commission members, with power to enforce decisions, such as to prevent strikes, for instance. "The public must be spared even the threat of discontinued service," he said. He announced his intention soon to call a conference of Governors of States and Territories to consider more effective means of Federal and State co-operation in the enforcement of prohibition laws, predicting as unlikely the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. He asked for enactments empowering the Farm Loan Board "to provide ample farm production and enlarged farm credits, and recommended plans for co-ordination of transportation facilities, with effective connections between land lines and sea carriers. He suggested the creation of a central agency by railways for pooling and distributing freight cars, with "the merger of lines into systems, a facilitated interchange of freight cars, the economic use of terminals, and the consolidation of facilities." Among other things, he



New United States Senators elected November, 1922: (at left), Governor Edward I. Edwards, New Jersey; (centre), Dr. Royal S. Copeland, New York; (at right), Simeon D. Fess, Ohio



(Keystone)

(Paul Thompson)

New members of the United States Senate, elected November, 1922: (at left), Hendrick Shipstead, Minnesota; (centre), Colonel Smith W. Brookhart, Iowa; (at right), Thomas F. Bayard, Delaware

referred to the "recrudescence of hyphenated Americanism which we thought to have stamped out when we committed the nation, life and soul, to the World War," wished the Federal Government to take means of helping the alien to good facilities for education to make him a better American, and recommended enactment of pending measures for the registration of aliens. He renewed his recommendation of a year ago that Congress should submit to the States a constitutional amendment to permit restriction of the issue of tax-exempt securities. Also he advocated a constitutional amendment to eliminate child labor, and suggested that the Government "point the way" to meeting the high cost of living through "narrowing the spread of price," that attention be given to "a unified plan of power distribution," and that more effective fire protection for forests be provided.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS ON SHIP SUBSIDY BILL

Prior to the delivery of this annual message, President Harding had made an appearance before Congress in connection with the question of ship subsidy. Before the Senate and the House, assembled in joint session on Nov. 21, the President explained that his purpose in calling Congress at that time was in the interest of the Administration Ship Subsidy bill.

Mr. Harding went before Congress with the knowledge of widespread hostility toward the bill in both the Senate and the House. Senator Capper, head of what is left of the bi-partisan farm bloc, and Senator La Follette, leader of the new radical group, had denounced the bill, and they repeated their criticisms of it after hearing the President read his address. The President did not fail to take cognizance of this opposition. The bill, he contended, should not be considered as providing a subsidy in the sense of associating it with "special privilege."

"It would be most discouraging," the President

went on, "if a measure of such transcending national importance must have its fate depending on geographical, occupational, professional and partisan objections." He argued that the compensations granted to shipowners through the measure were no more subsidies than other Government aid that had been given to railroads, reclamation and irrigation projects.

SUBSIDY BILL PASSES HOUSE

The Administration's Ship Subsidy bill, amended in several important features, was passed by the House of Representatives, Nov. 29, by a vote of 208 to 184—a majority of 24. Sixty-nine Republicans voted against the measure, and four Democrats joined the majority on its support. The principal changes in the bill that passed the House are as follows:

Elimination from the subsidy provisions of vessels owned by large corporations, such as Standard Oil, United Fruit and United States Steel, when engaged solely in the transportation of their own products.

Elimination of the section giving a rebate from income taxes equal to 5 per cent. of the freight money paid to American vessels.

Increase from 2 to 4½ per cent. in the minimum interest to be charged on loans made under the construction loan fund.

Elimination of the section giving the Shipping Board control over rates and practices in the intercoastal trade.

Elimination of the provision that the Shipping Board may sell ships without advertisement or competitive bids.

Provision that the steamship Leviathan shall not be sold for less than the cost of reconditioning.

Interest on the unpaid balance for ships purchased from the board shall not be less than 4¼ per cent., instead of 4 per cent.

No expenditure shall be made from the Mer-

chant Marine Fund except under appropriations made annually by Congress.

PLEA FOR LARGER ARMY

General John J. Pershing, speaking at St. Louis, Dec. 4, made a plea for a larger American military establishment, so that America will not, "like China, become the football of fortune, subject to dictation from abroad and possible disruption from within." The General spoke at a Chamber of Commerce luncheon attended by business men and members of civic and women's organizations.

He declared the present trouble in the Far and Near East should give America some concern.

"The Near East has been the theatre of practically continuous military operations since 1914, to say nothing of Middle Europe and the Far East," he asserted. "The developments which have taken place since the Turkish victory over the Greeks indicate sufficiently the danger which we run of becoming entangled in questions surrounding that age-old centre of racial, religious and political strife."

"When war is thrust upon us," the General stated, "our patriotism flames up and we are tremendously aroused. When the danger has passed, however, we gradually slide back into the old easy-going ways, serenely confident that the future will take care of itself. We usually fail to attribute the costs of war to pre-war unpreparedness."

In his annual report to Congress on Dec. 1, Secretary Weeks declared that the present regular authorized army strength of 12,000 officers and 125,000 men was inadequate for national safety, and that further cuts would be inexcusable.

"We should seize the first opportunity to bring the regular army back to the proportions which are required," he wrote. "We cannot ever again make the mistake of expecting good soldiers to rise overnight and good officers to be turned out in quantities in three months' periods."

"We are making progress, and any progress is good progress. This progress is, however, scant, and not really enough. Any further cuts would force us to lose what we have gained and would accordingly be inexcusable."

"It has taken time and money to build what we have. It has taken blood and money to prove that we have not, even now, what we need. We should, when practicable, add to what we have and attain to the progress called for in our defense project under the terms of the law."

NEW POLICY FOR NAVY

Secretary of the Navy Denby stated in his annual message, Dec. 3, that, because of the financial and economic situation, no requests

would be made to Congress this Winter for an increase in the navy, but his report added that when conditions should warrant action our navy should be made the equal of any afloat.

So far as capital ships are concerned, no new American dreadnaughts can be laid down during the period of the ten-year naval holiday, provided the treaty for limitation of naval armaments, framed by the Washington conference, becomes effective. But under that agreement destroyers, light cruisers, submarines and certain other types of vessels may be built without limitation, and there is a strong feeling among line officers that unless the American Navy maintains a proper strength in non-capital vessels it will be placed at a disadvantage.

"For the first time in the history of our country," said Secretary Denby, "the navy and Congress have a definite naval policy and building and maintenance standard to work to, a standard which is proportionate to our position as a world power. The maintenance of this standard in all respects is necessary to our defense and to our prestige."

NO DRY LAW CHANGES

It was announced on Nov. 17 at the White House that President Harding had written no letters on prohibition indicating that he favored a modification of the prohibition law.

That the President has in some letters indulged in speculation on what Congress might do in respect to the prohibition law, as the result of an apparent change of sentiment by the public, is true. These letters do not put the President in the position of advocating any changes, and it was officially stated that he would not make any such move, even in the face of an admitted increasing opinion favoring a liberalization of the enforcement act.

In some letters to him, it is understood, the President was requested to use his influence to take the prohibition question out of politics. It is understood that he replied that he did not believe this possible, and so told his correspondents.

PROHIBITION ENFORCEMENT DEMANDED

Attorney General Daugherty on Nov. 29 sent instructions to all United States Attorneys throughout the nation to enforce more vigorously the prohibition laws.

This was the first definite step taken since President Harding made it known that the Administration was not satisfied with the way things were going and believed that the morals of the country were being undermined by general disregard of the prohibition laws. The Attorney General asked his assistants in the various districts of the nation to push prohibition cases to an early trial and, where it was possible to do so with propriety, to urge the courts to give more severe sentences to violators. He also asked that steps be taken to



(© Harris & Ewing)

PIERCE BUTLER,
Nominated by
President Harding
as Associate Jus-
tice of the Supreme
Court

check the manufacture and distribution of beer of more than one-half of 1 per cent. alcoholic content, and stated that criminal informations and bills for injunction proceedings against individuals and companies unlawfully manufacturing cereal beverages were being forwarded to several districts.

JAPANESE CANNOT BE CITIZENS

In two cases on Nov. 13 the United States Supreme Court decided that Japanese could not become citizens of the United States. Both opinions were written by Justice Sutherland, a new member of the court, and the first he had handed down since his appointment.

Justice Sutherland, after reading the hearings and debate on the act of 1906 to show no alteration in the original law was contemplated, concluded.

"In all of the naturalization acts from 1790 to 1906 the privilege of naturalization was confined to white persons (with the addition in 1870 of those of African nativity and descent), although the exact wording of the various statutes was not always the same. If Congress in 1906 desired to alter a rule so well and so long established it may be assumed that its purpose would have been definitely disclosed and its legislation to that end put in unmistakable terms."

Referring to the special case before him, Justice Sutherland said: "The briefs filed on behalf of the appellant refer in complimentary terms to the culture and enlightenment of the Japanese people, and with this estimate we have no reason to disagree; but these are matters which cannot enter into our considerations of the question here at issue. We have no function in the matter other than to ascertain the will of Congress and declare it. Of course, there is not implied—either in the legislation or in our interpretation of it—any suggestion of individual unworthiness or racial inferiority. These considerations are in no manner involved."

OPPOSES FREER IMMIGRATION

Secretary Davis of the Labor Department recently issued a statement assailing the arguments of letting down the immigration bars.

"In traveling about the country during the last two months," he said, "I have found a constant agitation which apparently seeks to let down all of the bars against immigration. The argument is put forward that, because we have reached industrial prosperity in the United States after one of the greatest depressions we have ever known, we must open wide our gates to European immigration to provide labor for our industries."

"This argument is entirely fallacious for several reasons. There is an impression that the 3 per cent. law has operated arbitrarily to limit our immigration from all European countries. Nothing could be further from the truth. Those who are now opposing the law forgot that the law would have permitted the admission of

thousands of immigrants during the past two years if they had sought admission.

"At any time since the law was put into effect, workmen for our industries of the racial strains which have made America great, which have up to the last two decades made up the bulk of our immigration, could have been admitted by the thousands. They did not seek admission. They are not coming to America."

"In the last fiscal year only less than one-half of the quotas that could be admitted under the law have come from England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales, from Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Germany. The percentages of quotas, fulfilled during the last fiscal year, are Denmark, 57.6 per cent.; United Kingdom, including England, Scotland Ireland and Wales, 55.2 per cent.; Norway 48.7 per cent.; Sweden, 43.8 per cent.; Germany, 28 per cent."

KU KLUX KLAN ACTIVITIES

Governor Parker of Louisiana came to Washington on Nov. 20 to confer with representatives of the Department of Justice and President Harding on the activities of the Ku Klux Klan in his State. It was stated that the power of the "Invisible Empire" was growing in that State, that the Ku Klux Klan was becoming a factor in the Government and that many acts of lawlessness were charged against that organization.

For an hour and a half on Nov. 20 the Governor and State Attorney General Coco were in conference at the White House with President Harding. Attorney General Daugherty joined them there. Prior to going to the White House, Governor Parker and Attorney General Coco had an hour's session with Chief Burns of the Bureau of Investigation, supposedly to obtain the help of some of his detectives to run down Ku Klux criminals in other States who are co-operating with leaders of the Klan in Louisiana.

After the White House conference, Attorney General Daugherty made this statement in behalf of President Harding:

"It appears that the State of Louisiana will be fully able to take care of the situation. There is nothing at this time for the Federal Government to do except to give assurance to State authorities that whenever Federal interests are involved the Federal authorities are ready to extend full co-operation."

On Dec. 4 Attorney General Daugherty informed Senator Walsh, Democrat, of Massachusetts, that alleged illegal acts attributed to the Ku Klux Klan fell within the police powers of the several States. The Department of Justice has had the conduct of the "so-called Ku Klux Klan" before it for more than a year, Mr. Daugherty said, but has not been able to find a single case which would bring the organization within the jurisdiction of the Federal Government. He assured Senator Walsh that if any such case arose, the Government would proceed to prosecute vigorously the offending organization or individuals.

Investigation of Ku Klux Klan activities by a House Committee, which would be directed to "recommend if necessary, proper disciplinary

action," was proposed in a resolution introduced Dec. 6 by Representative Ryan, Republican, of New York. The resolution also called for an examination of the financial condition of the organization, "in order that just and proper returns be filed with the collectors of internal revenue," and provided that all such organizations must file with the Postmaster General semi-annually the names and addresses of officers and members. The resolution called the Klan "un-American," and asserted it had expended "large sums for the building of palaces" and had issued "propaganda of religious bigotry and racial hatred."

PRESIDENT OFFERS REDUCED BUDGET

President Harding, on Dec. 4, sent to Congress the budget for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1924, and in his message gave in considerable detail the history of Government financing for 1923. Estimated receipts for 1924 were placed at \$3,361,813,359, and estimated expenditures at \$3,180,843,234, showing a prospective excess of receipts over expenditures of \$180,969,125.

One of the most striking features of the President's message was found in his statement concerning the Government finances for the fiscal year 1923. At one time it had been estimated that there would be a deficit at the close of the present fiscal year of \$697,433,231, but the President said revised figures indicated a prospective deficit of only \$273,938,712, and he expressed the hope that by June 30 ways and means would be found to wipe out this prospective deficit and balance the national budget. President Harding explained the cut of more than 50 per cent. in the prospective deficit as due to the stimulation in the collection of ordinary receipts, aided by an increase in the customs revenues.

As things shape up at this time, the estimated receipts for the fiscal year 1923 were placed at \$3,429,862,959, and the estimated expenditures at \$3,703,801,671. It was a much more optimistic picture than that presented last July, especially in view of the fact that estimates for the following fiscal year (1924) indicate a substantial surplus of \$180,969,125. It had been quite generally understood lately that a huge reduction of the estimated deficit would be shown, and all expectations were met, while indications are that by June 30, next, means will be found to balance the budget. The President's message, therefore, had a very quieting effect upon alarmists.

LOSS IN INTERNAL REVENUE

A decrease of \$1,397,905,878 in the taxes collected by the Internal Revenue Bureau in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1922, as compared with the preceding year, was shown in the annual report of Commissioner Blair, issued Nov. 26. The only exception was the tobacco taxes, which increased about \$15,500,000 because of changes in the law and increased consumption. The collections for 1922 amounted to \$3,197,451,083, as compared with \$4,595,357,061 in 1921.

Of the total, income and profits tax collections amounted to \$2,086,918,464.85, compared with \$3,228,137,673.75 for 1921, a decrease of \$1,141,219,208.90, or 35 per cent.

PAYMENT ON BRITISH WAR DEBT

Great Britain on Nov. 15 paid a second \$50,000,000 instalment on the interest of her war debt to the United States Government. As in the first case, in which \$50,000,000 was paid over on Oct. 16, the sum was deducted from amounts which England has on deposit with her agents in the United States, J. P. Morgan & Co.

In addition to paying the \$50,000,000 in interest on the war debt, the British Government turned over to the Federal Reserve Bank in New York the sum of \$610,000, representing interest on the debt which arose from the sale of silver to England during the war, which is in process of liquidation, there being \$61,000,000 of this account still outstanding.

Great Britain has now paid a total of \$100,000,000 interest on her aggregate war debt to the United States of \$4,277,000,000.

CUT IN SURTAX RATES ASKED

Frankly recognizing that the high surtax rates which sound productive are nevertheless becoming increasingly ineffective and yielding less and less revenue each year, Secretary of the Treasury Mellon, in his annual report submitted to Congress, Dec. 6, recommended a reduction of the maximum income surtax rates from the present 50 per cent. to not more than 25 per cent.

No general revision of the revenue laws was proposed nor additional taxes suggested by Secretary Mellon, who expressed the hope that any indicated Government deficit might be met through collection of back taxes and income from other sources. The Secretary pointed out that the higher surtax rates, which run to 58 per cent. when the normal tax is included, placed the heavy taxpayers under such a great temptation to reduce their taxable income that these taxpayers inevitably sought every permissible method of avoiding income subject to surtax, resulting in "an artificial situation which is not wholesome from the point of view of business or industrial development."

NEWBERRY'S RESIGNATION

Senator Truman H. Newberry of Michigan, whose title to a seat in the Senate had been in controversy for a long time, sent his resignation to Governor Groesbeck on Nov. 18. By doing this he blocked a new move which was in progress looking toward his expulsion. In his letter of resignation he blamed political unrest for the violent opposition shown to him, and declared that he was chiefly actuated in resigning by the defeat of his colleague, Senator Townsend. In his letter he claimed that his motives and actions had always been honorable, and pointed to various court proceedings that, he claimed, exonerated him.

Governor Groesbeck accepted the resignation, and on Nov. 29 appointed Mr. James Couzens, Mayor of Detroit, to fill the unexpired term of former Senator Newberry. Mr. Couzens, who has been frequently in the news because of his development of the Municipal Railway program in Detroit, was born in Chatham, Ontario, Aug.

26, 1872. He was educated in the high schools of Chatham, and after graduating became a news agent on the Erie & Huron Railway. During his spare time he studied telegraphy and went to Detroit as a telegraph operator when 18 years old. He worked there with various railroads and business concerns and became actively identified with the Ford Motor Company as Vice President and Treasurer. He is a man of wealth and has long been prominent in Republican councils.

PORTO RICO

An important conference on Porto Rican affairs was held at the White House on Nov. 13. It was attended by Felix Cordova Davila, Commissioner in Washington; Antonio Barcelo, President of the Porto Rican Senate; Martin Travieso, Mayor of San Juan; Alfonso Pharriz, Speaker, and Francisco Gil Rivera, a member of the House, all of whom again protested against the continuance of E. Mont Reily as Governor.

New indictments were returned on Nov. 29, charging conspiracy to violate the prohibition enforcement law, against a dozen insular revenue agents and alleged rum dealers, minor offenders, after dismissal of a previous indictment which included Mariano R. Pesquera, Federal Prohibition Director, and the former Insular Treasurer, José A. Benedicto.

PHILIPPINES

Manuel Quezon, former Philippine Commissioner in Washington, addressed the American Chamber of Commerce in Manila on Nov. 15, asking Americans to support the plan for a constitutional convention looking to the establishment of a Philippine Republic. Such a convention, he said, would present to the American people the Philippine opinion as to what sort of government should exist there. The Philippine House on Nov. 22 adopted a resolution to petition President Harding and the United States Congress to allow the Philippine Legislature to call a convention to frame a future independent republic.

A special mission of members of the Legislature will be sent to Washington to urge this course. The mission that came here last Summer recommends the appointment of a press agent to direct the campaign, to see that motion pictures illustrative of Philippine life, commerce and industries be sent to the United States and to establish a press bureau in Washington.

A bill introduced in the Philippine Senate proposes a graduated income tax, ranging from one-half of 1 per cent. on \$300, to 30 per cent. on \$9,000 or more.

Major Gen. Leonard Wood, Governor General of the Philippines, has decided to remain at his present post and not to accept the offer made by the University of Pennsylvania to be Provost of that institution, according to information received on Dec. 7 by administration officials in Washington.

PANAMA CANAL ZONE

Governor Jay J. Morrow of the Panama Canal Zone in his annual report, made public on Nov.

26, predicts a rapid development of coastwise trade between Atlantic and Pacific ports and a greatly increased volume of traffic supported by development of the resources of Ecuador, Peru, Chile and Colombia. The net operating revenue of the canal during the fiscal year increased \$750,000. There was a decrease in the number of vessels passing through the canal from 2,892 in 1921 to 2,736, but the net tonnage was slightly greater owing to an increase in the average size of ships. Cargoes handled amounted to 93.8 per cent. of the previous year, exports from the United States to the west coast of South America dropped from 933,261 to 244,514 tons, while European exports fell from 297,166 to 283,804 tons. Exports from South America to the United States dropped from 975,597 to 548,609 tons, while exports to Europe fell from 922,499 to 663,127 tons. Thus, Europe again leads the United States in trade with South America both in imports and exports.

A volume of water approximately eight times as great as that which passes over the American falls at Niagara was turned into the Panama Canal in November and allowed to run for two hours against closed spillway barriers to test the wall of the discharge channel and the railroad bridge across it. Not the slightest damage was observable.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

GREAT BRITAIN

To older members the meeting of the British Parliament after the general election was reminiscent of a Disraeli political triumph, for not since that period had the Conservatives come back from the constituencies in such superior numbers. Among conspicuous members of the last Parliament relegated to private life, the most noticeable by absence was former Colonial Secretary Winston Churchill, who was understood to have planned a temporary literary career until the chance of a return to Westminster opened; and among new faces that of Mr. Saklatvala, the Hindu Socialist, who early stepped into the political battle line by opposing the Irish treaty because it "was signed under duress."

Cabinet strength in the house was tested when Prime Minister Bonar Law moved to take all the time of the session for Government business, and was opposed by the Labor Party. On this, the first division of the new House of Commons, the Government motion was carried by 238 to 135, a majority of 103. This majority was increased to 131 on Dec. 1, when the house rejected an amendment to the speech from the Throne moved by the Labor Party to provide for the problem of unemployment.

The main Government business of the session as presented were the two bills giving effect to the Anglo-Irish treaty, as made public on Nov. 25. The first, known as "the Constituent act," legalized the Irish Free State's Constitution as it had already passed the Irish Provisional Parliament, or Dail Eireann. The second, known as the "Consequent Provision bill," dealt mainly with Ulster. It appointed a Governor for Northern Ireland at a salary of £8,000; set up a Court of

Appeals in Northern Ireland, and fixed Ulster's contribution toward imperial liabilities at £7,920,000 per annum.

The second reading of these bills passed the House of Commons, with but little opposition, on Nov. 25; and after their third reading on Nov. 29 were sent without amendment to the House of Lords. The same comparative apathy attended the passage of the Irish Constitution bill through the upper Chamber. Its second reading was adopted unanimously on Nov. 30. Both bills went through the committee stage on Dec. 1, after two minor amendments to the Consequent Provisions bill had been accepted by the Government. The only noteworthy incident was a characteristic denunciation of the bills by Lord Carson, former Ulster leader, who described them as a horrible legacy inherited by the Government. On Dec. 4 the Irish Free State came into definite being among the nations, on the passage of the Irish Constitution bill through the House of Lords, its final formality being completed by receipt of the royal assent on Dec. 5. By this act of great historic importance the long and bitter struggle between England and Ireland was brought to an amicable conclusion. The veteran Irish Nationalist parliamentarian Timothy Healy, who confirmed his acceptance of the Governor Generalship of the Irish Free State, expressed his satisfaction of the result in these words: "The British Government has acted with absolutely scrupulous honor, and I am very well pleased with it all." On Dec. 6 King George held a Privy Council in Buckingham Palace, dealing chiefly with the establishment of Ireland as an independent Commonwealth within the British Empire, and subsequently issued two proclamations giving effect to the new Irish Free State and appointing Timothy E. Healy the first Governor General respectively.

In attendance upon the opening of Parliament was an unemployed demonstration, gathered in marching bands to Hyde Park from all parts of the country, like Coxey's Army. In number they amounted to between 20,000 and 23,000, the plan of their organizers being to discuss with Premier Bonar Law a demand for their maintenance by the national exchequer. Speaking on this question for the first time in the new House of Commons on Dec. 5, Mr. Lloyd George said he believed the trouble would pass with recovery from the effects of war, but advocated a policy of back to the land as a necessary remedy for depopulation of the rural districts.

Former Premier Lloyd George's list of honors, customary on retirement, was issued on Nov. 10, and found to be entirely political. There were four promotions in the peerage, and four new peerages created. Six new Privy Councillors, five new baronets and twelve knights made up the principal rewards. Among the familiar names which appeared were Viscounts Birkenhead and Farquhar elevated to earldoms, and Barons Lee and Leverhulme to be viscounts; Sir Joseph Mac-lay, the successful war Shipping Controller, became a baron, together with Lieut. Col. F. B. Mildmay, a well known parliamentary figure. Dr. Richard Runckman Terry, who was knighted, had won fame in the musical world as the organist

of Westminster Roman Catholic Cathedral and for research work in early English music.

IRISH FREE STATE

With alternating waves of hopefulness and pessimism regarding the ability of the Free State Government to bring order out of chaos, popular feeling in Ireland has been inclined to dismal foreboding, due to the continued interruption of railway traffic by bands of republicans, the fact that over considerable areas National forces were on the defensive, and the significant spectacle of National troops still being dispatched to the scene of hostilities in the South. Even the birth of the Free State failed to rouse anticipated enthusiasm.

A development productive of a National sensation occurred on Nov. 10, when a detachment of National troops captured Erskine Childers at the home of his relative, Robert Parton. Mr. Childers, who was the chief lieutenant of Eamon de Valera, republican leader, and a nephew of a Chancellor of the Exchequer in Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet, was seized when attempting to draw a revolver. He was removed to Wicklow Jail and thence to Portobello Barracks. A week later he was placed on trial before a military court, recently empowered by the Provisional Parliament to punish rebels or others found in the possession of arms and explosives, and which that day had sent four men to execution for such an offense. Though the proceedings against Childers were conducted in camera, sufficient information leaked out to cause widespread interest, which greatly increased when announcement was shortly made of his conviction and sentence to death on the technical charge of being in possession of a revolver. In spite of almost heroic efforts made by Mr. Childers's counsel to induce the civil courts to interpose, he was brought before a firing squad at dawn of the 24th and executed. That the republicans possessed an efficient secret service which supplied them with advance news of the Childers execution was indicated by vigorous Government attacks on Dublin National Army posts. In a long statement written after his trial Mr. Childers defended the course he had taken against England by declaring that under the rules of the Provisional Government by birth, domicile and free choice he was an Irish citizen. After the execution considerable uneasiness prevailed over threats of reprisals, but the most noticeable action taken was by Irish republican sympathizers in New York, who made public demonstrations on two consecutive days.

On Nov. 22 Eamon de Valera as President of the Irish Republic, and J. P. Rutledge as Minister for Home Affairs, issued a republican proclamation in which they accused the Provisional Government of "pursuing rebellion against the republic, endeavoring to re-establish the British courts and trying to set up a system of district courts in twenty-six counties to supersede republican courts." The proclamation declared all such courts to be illegal, and warned all against taking part in them at the risk of being deemed an enemy of the republic. On Nov. 28 Mr. de Valera, from his hiding place, defied the Free State Government by naming a

new Irish Republican Government, whose members were mostly in jail, as follows:

EAMON DE VALERA, President and Foreign Minister.

AUSTIN STACK—Finance.

J. P. RUTLEDGE—Home Secretary.

LIAM MELLOWES—Defense.

SEAN O'KELLY—Local Government.

ROBERT BARTON—Economics.

Regarding hostilities following Mr. de Valera's resumption of the title of President of the Irish Republic, the warfare took on a new aspect. Irish National troops were treated as if they were British, the campaign against them was waged with more intensity than against the former Black and Tans, and several persons suspected of giving information were executed. On the records of fighting, an eight-hour battle took place near Foxford, County Mayo, on Nov. 10, in which the republicans lost twelve killed and many wounded; four republicans were killed and three wounded in the premature explosion of a mine being laid for National troops in the suburbs of Dublin on Nov. 8; and republicans who had ambushed a party of National troops in West Cork on Dec. 4 were subsequently scattered by bombs and machine-gun fire from a Free State airplane.

On receipt of the news of the passage of the Irish Constitution bill by the British Parliament, the Irish Provisional Parliament met for the last time on Dec. 4. After the approval of some estimates it adjourned until 5 P. M. on Wednesday, when, following formal inauguration of the Saorstát Eireann, or Irish Free State, the present Deputies became automatically members of the new Chamber, and their House had a new legislative partner in the Senate. Without spectacular feature of any kind the formal change of rulership took place. The orange, white and green flag floated over the Government buildings, and a special issue of postage stamps was made, but otherwise there was little outward sign to mark so momentous an occasion. Officially the Free State's establishment was proclaimed in Ireland at the private residence of Timothy Healy, Chapelizod, who at the same time and place was formally appointed Governor General and sworn in during the afternoon by the Lord Chief Justice.

In the presence of President Cosgrave and the Ministers, the Speaker of the Dail, three military officers and the members of Mr. Healy's family, Lord Chief Justice Moloney read the King's proclamation and next administered the oath to Mr. Healy. The latter afterward swore in Speaker Hayes. Then the health and prosperity of the Free State, the Governor General and the President of the Cabinet were pledged in a glass of wine. In this simple manner the new era was inaugurated.

Later at the Dail there was an unusually large attendance of members. Mr. Cosgrave was the first Deputy to take the oath, and one of the last was General McKeon, famous as the blacksmith of Ballinallee. The Labor members all accepted the oath, but their Chairman, Mr. Johnson, read a statement explaining that in doing so they were following the political tactics of every country where capitalism existed. The election of Mr.

Cosgrave as President of the Cabinet was received with applause. An interval of half an hour elapsed to obtain the Governor General's approval. In rising to make his address of acceptance it was evident that Mr. Cosgrave regarded the event as epoch making. After deploring the opposition they had encountered, he went on to pay a tribute to the British attitude in declaring that "from the hour the British were committed to the treaty they have never tried to whittle down one iota of what was due to us. They have stood by the spirit and letter of it with a scrupulousness which has been undeviating." After reading a telegram of congratulation from the British Premier, Andrew Bonar Law, and extending a friendly hand to the Government of Northern Ireland, Mr. Cosgrave nominated the following six Ministers as constituting, with him, an Executive Council.

KEVIN O'HIGGINS—Minister of Home Affairs.

RICHARD MULCAHY—Minister of Defense.

Professor JOHN MACNEILL—Minister of Education.

ERNEST BLYTHE—Minister of Local Government.

JOSEPH MCGRATH—Minister of Industry, Commerce and Labor.

DESMOND FITZGERALD—Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Later President Cosgrave announced his list of thirty nominations to the Senate. Among the more prominent on the Presidential list were the Earl of Granard, the Earl of Wicklow, the Earl of Kerry, the Marquis of Headfort, Baron Clenavy, the Earl of Mayo, the Earl of Dunraven, General Sir Bryan Mahon, Sir Horace Plunkett, Sir Thomas Esmonde, Martin Fitzgerald of The Freeman's Journal, Henry Guinness, a Governor of the Bank of Ireland; Dr. George Sigerson, Professor of Biology, University of Dublin; William Butler Yeats, the poet; the Dowager Countess of Desart and Mrs. Wyse Power.

Ominous aftermaths of all the good wishes bestowed on the new State occurred on the 7th, when Deputy Sean Hales was shot and killed and Deputy Speaker Patrick O'Maille was seriously wounded by assassins in Dublin; and a force of 200 republicans captured the barracks of Ballymakeera, near Macroom, killing one man, wounding fifteen and taking ninety prisoners. By way of reprisal the Government executed Rory O'Connor, Liam Mellowes, Joseph McKelvey and Richard Barrett, republican leaders, in Mountjoy on Dec. 8. The Government's action was upheld in the Dail by 30 to 14 votes after a bitter attack by Labor members and George Gavan Duffy.

NORTHERN IRELAND

The Government of Northern Ireland took extraordinary action on Nov. 21, when certain Belfast Protestants, whose presence was thought detrimental to the city's peace, were sent away. Though no official explanation was given, it was unofficially stated that the men were reputed to be members of a secret society originally organized to counteract the Sinn Féin, but that they had recently participated in activities not in keeping with public order.

On Dec. 3 Ulster Premier Sir James Craig, in an address at Derry, declared his opposition to

the proposed boundary commission, whose decisions might leave both parties dissatisfied; but in its place suggested direct negotiation between the Northern and Southern Governments as, after all, leading to that general neighborly co-operation more valuable than the settlement of any boundary question. On Dec. 5, the eve of the setting up of the Irish Free State, Sir James Craig said he hoped religious strife in the Belfast shipyards would soon cease, so that the city might regain the business once hers.

On Dec. 7 the Ulster Parliament unanimously voted within the space of half an hour an address to the King contracting Ulster out of the Free State. Premier Sir James Craig, accompanied by the Marquis of Londonderry, leader of the Senate, and Colonel Spender, Secretary to the Ulster Cabinet, left afterward for London bearing the address.

CANADA

It was believed that the resignation of Mr. Crerar as leader of the Progressive Party on Nov. 10 would greatly affect the political outlook, as it was understood he also intended to withdraw from the House of Commons. Prime Minister King, in expressing his regret to lose Mr. Crerar, said that the Progressive leader "understood the value of co-operation for good government." It was announced on Nov. 12 that Mr. Robert Forke, member for Brandon (Manitoba), had been selected as leader of the Progressives in succession to Mr. Crerar.

Sir H. Thornton, General Manager of the Great Eastern Railway, England, has been appointed President of the Canadian National Railways, to include the Grand Trunk System. Sir Henry Thornton will be remembered as the American railroad expert who was invited to reorganize traffic on the English Great Eastern in the war crisis of 1914, and whose successful work on that system was regarded as unequalled.

On Oct. 30 Lord Byng, the Governor General, returned to Ottawa after a four months' tour in Western Canada, during which he traveled 11,000 miles, visited over fifty cities and towns, and spent nearly a month in the Yukon. The tour was regarded as the most comprehensive ever undertaken by a Governor General.

James Nicol, Provincial Treasurer of Quebec, stated on Nov. 15 that the liquor law was a financial and moral success. Profits from the law's operations in the year ended in June were \$4,000,000. The year's provincial surplus was \$5,033,419. Drinking on Government premises is prohibited, but cafés are permitted to sell light wines and beer purchased from the Government.

The Port Arthur Chamber of Commerce adopted a resolution on Nov. 2 asking for a plebiscite on a proposal to separate from Old Ontario and form a new province of Western Ontario, which would include the districts of Thunder Bay, Rainy River and Kenora.

Statistics issued by the Dominion Bureau on Nov. 30 estimated the 1922 wheat crop as the best since 1915, which was the famous "bumper crop" year.

Limitless possibilities is the term now applied to Canadian fisheries, which have achieved a pro-

duction of \$30,000,000. Exports of fish and fish products are valued at about \$60,000,000, with an importation of about \$6,000,000 a year.

AUSTRALIA

The New Zealand shipping strike was extended to Australian ports on Nov. 10, and considerable difficulty was experienced in the handling of vessels bound to and from the other colony.

On the return to Sydney from Queensland of Mr. Wood and other members of the British cotton delegation, on Oct. 31, the utmost satisfaction was expressed with Australia's prospects as a producer. Soil had been seen capable of growing the world's best cotton.

In the election campaign there were signs of a rally round Mr. Hughes among the Liberal section of the Nationalists who had been inclined to break away. Strong Liberals like the Ministers, Mr. Bruce in Victoria and Mr. Greene in New South Wales, gave unqualified support to Mr. Hughes. Labor's political outlook was considered gloomy, especially since Mr. Catt's section had attacked the main body with the charge of being controlled by revolutionaries. The decisive fight was expected to be in New South Wales.

NEW ZEALAND

In an election manifesto issued on Oct. 30, Premier Massey laid stress on the necessity of an arrangement with Great Britain and the other dominions for naval protection in the Pacific. He advocated a vigorous immigration policy, but declared for a stand against revolutionary socialism. The Parliamentary session ended on Oct. 31, with the expectation of the general election taking place the first week in December. Mr. Wilford, the Liberal leader, delivered an election speech outlining his policy, as standing for a united empire and constitutional methods; and the Labor Party published a manifesto, affirming the international character of its political creed. An award of the Arbitration Court slightly reducing wages resulted in a tie-up of locally manned shipping on Nov. 10. The strike was still in force on Nov. 15, but the shipping companies were successfully gaining control of the situation, with the assistance of non-unionist labor under police protection.

EGYPT

Following differences with the King, the Sarawat Ministry resigned on Nov. 30. On the following day Tewfik Nessim Pasha, a former Premier, agreed to form a new Ministry. The new Ministry was composed of straightforward politicians, who, it was believed, could reckon on the support of both the King and the nation. It was noticed that leading followers of Zaghlul were prominent in extending congratulations at the palace. Though Premier Nessim did not immediately publish his program, he regarded Egypt as already overburdened with unfulfilled political promises.

A tragedy which caused a ferment in the political world was enacted in the shooting of two

members of the Adly Party, who subsequently died of their wounds. The failure to punish the perpetrators of the outrage led to threats from the Adly Party to organize a Fascisti Party and suppress force by force.

An extraordinary find of Egyptian relics, valued at \$15,000,000, on the site of ancient Thebes, near Luxor, was reported on Dec. 1 and characterized by an expert as the greatest discovery in the history of Egyptian art. The glittering treasure was believed to form the funeral paraphernalia of Tutenkhamen, a heretic King of the eighteenth dynasty, about 1350 B. C.

SOUTH AFRICA

In political circles, confirmation was announced at Cape Town on Nov. 2 of a working agreement between the Nationalists and Laborites on the basis of both parties dropping certain portions of their programs. Simultaneously with the Nationalists repudiating Republicanism the Laborites were enjoined to relinquish the socialistic clause in their constitution. General Smuts, in referring to the above combination in a speech at Johannesburg on Nov. 5, said he foresaw dark days for South Africa under a Nationalist-Labor régime, which would put the country back hundreds of years, never to regain what it had lost.

A report from Hamburg via London of Nov. 29 stated that hundreds of American negro emissaries were touring not only former German, but also French, English and other colonies, preaching to negroes that Africa is the black man's country and that it is incompatible with human dignity to permit one's self to be ruled by a race of another color.

IRAQ (MESOPOTAMIA)

The Iraq Cabinet resigned on Nov. 16 and a new Government was constituted on Nov. 22 as follows:

ABDUL MUHSIN BEG AL SAADUN—Prime Minister and temporarily Minister of Justice.

NAJI BEG AL SUWAIDI—Interior.

SASSOON EFFENDI—Finance.

YASSIN PASHA AL HASHIMY—Communication and Works.

AL HAJ ABDUL HUSSAIN AL CHALABI—Education.

ABDUL LATIF PASHA AL MANDIL—Pious Foundations.

NURI PASHA AL SAID—Acting Minister of Defense.

The new Prime Minister was formerly Minister of the Interior. Naji Beg is a member of a well-known Bagdad family and a man of good education. Sassoon Effendi has served continuously since the first formation of an Arab Government. Yassin Pasha is an ex-officer of the Turkish Army, with a notable military record. Al Haj Abdul Hussain is a wealthy notable. Abdul Latif Pasha comes from Basra and is regarded as a highly useful acquisition to the Cabinet.

General Jaafar Pasha el Askari, Minister of Defense in the Government of Iraq, arrived in London on Nov. 16 as Envoy to Great Britain

under the terms of the treaty of alliance recently concluded between Iraq and Great Britain.

INDIA

For the time being the tenseness of native unrest in India was reported to have very considerably relaxed, and an almost complete lull existed both in the internal and external situation. This was largely due to waning interest in the Turkish Nationalist victory over the Greeks, and also from the adjustment of Akali Sikh dissatisfaction through the purchase of the disputed shrine lands by benevolent millionaires, who agreed to permit free Sikh entrance. Satisfactory Autumn crops, with prospects of a good Spring crop, helped to make for a brighter outlook than prevailed a year ago. In view of these better conditions it was thought the plan of the nonco-operators to enter the Legislative Councils and attempt wrecking reforms by obstructionist tactics would fail, since the indications were that pro-reformers would be in the majority.

On completion of the important mission entrusted by the Government of India to the Right Hon. S. V. Srinavasa Sastri, to discuss with the Dominion Governments of Australia, New Zealand and Canada, the question of giving rights of citizenship to Indians lawfully resident in the Dominions, Mr. Sastri said that his expectations had been fulfilled in laying the foundations of a better understanding of India in the Dominions.

In accordance with the decision of the Government to adopt the report of the Acworth committee to appoint a Chief Commissioner of Railways, the Viceroy selected Mr. C. D. M. Hindley, former agent of the East Indian Railway, for the office.

Reports from the Northwest Frontier of Nov. 13 announced a serious raid by Jelal Khel Mahsuds in which the driver of a large convoy was killed and six servants captured. On Nov. 15 severe fighting took place near Jandola between Government troops and Mahsuds, in which the former lost seven killed and eight wounded. The Jelal Khel Mahsuds were the only remaining tribe to refuse submission.

Official returns on the mortality from snakes and wild animals during the last year showed that 19,396 persons died from snake bite, 1,454 were killed by tigers, 560 by leopards, 556 by wolves, 69 by bears, 70 by elephants and 10 by hyenas. During the year nearly 25,000 wild animals and about 5,700 snakes were killed, and 200,000 rupees paid out in rewards.

FRANCE

Under the stress of a multiplicity of momentous problems of foreign and internal policy, the month opened stormily for the Poincaré Government. In defending his Near Eastern policy in the Senate on Nov. 10, in reply to interpellators, the Premier gave his hearers to understand that he expected the entente with England to work better with the new British Government than it had with Mr. Lloyd George. He gave warning of new difficulties arising from the indecisive

nature of the results obtained at Mudania, declaring that the Kemalists had changed in spirit since the time M. Franklin-Bouillon signed the Angora accords with them, and that their arrogance in the belief that their victory over the Greeks was a victory over Britain was a reason for hastening the Lausanne conference. He declared that it was on the unanimous advice of Marshal Foch and all the military and naval authorities that the French troops were withdrawn from Chanak, so that it was unjust to accuse France of failing her Allies, especially as she had maintained her troops at Gallipoli and Constantinople.

The coldness with which the Premier's long speeches on his internal and Near East policies were received by the Chamber showed that his hold on the Chamber and on the country was weakening, though he was expected to retain his majority during the life of the present Parliament. During his appeal to the "great Republican majority for national reconstruction and social peace which would exclude those who sought reform by revolt and violence," the Royalists and Conservatives on the Right were disturbed by his bid for support to the Left. The Premier's overtures to the Left bloc were obviously made to save the national bloc, to keep the country united under its rule, and to assure a continuation of the policy of holding Germany to strict fulfillment of the terms of the Versailles Treaty.

A violent attack on the French Financial Administration on Nov. 13 in the Chamber of Deputies threatened to precipitate a Cabinet crisis. Premier Poincaré hastened to the Chamber, only to find that his adherents had rallied about the Government, as they have several times recently, and saved the situation.

In the week of Nov. 19 it was frankly admitted in Paris financial circles that the war and post-war taxation, the income tax and excess profits tax had been far from affording the revenue that they should, as it takes a large number of experienced men to collect such taxes and examine the declarations. The Government is making unrelenting efforts to find, train and organize an adequate staff of collectors, such men being hard to obtain.

Addressing the Chamber of Deputies on Nov. 29, at the opening discussion of the army budget for 1923, M. André Maginot, Minister of War and Pensions, declared that the theory that large economies in the war budget could restore the finances of France to their equilibrium was untenable, and that the Government considered it the wrong time to reduce the army below the remaining thirty-two divisions.

The five regional councils in Tunis, by which France tries the experiment of giving the indigenous population more of a share in the Regency Government, have been brought into operation. These councils are at Bizerta, Tunis, Kef, Susa and Sfax.

That the French Government is anxious to ratify the Washington Treaty for Naval Disarmament as soon as possible was indicated on Dec. 4. Though Premier Poincaré was meeting opposition to it in Parliament, it was pointed out that

France is not in an economic position to build capital battleships before the expiration time of the treaty anyway.

Rejection of the Woman's Suffrage bill was voted in the French Senate on Nov. 21 by a majority of 156 to 134.

M. Georges Clemenceau, the French War Premier, sailed for America, Nov. 12, on his self-appointed mission to appeal for renewed American co-operation in Europe and to interpret his own country's point of view. In his tour of American cities M. Clemenceau has not appealed for American entry into the League of Nations, but for active participation by America in the efforts to settle the international problems confronting European Governments. His most notable speeches were delivered in New York and Boston. He also visited Roosevelt's and Lincoln's graves, among other historic places, and called at the home of ex-President Wilson in Washington. The vigor and courage with which he undertook this mission at the age of 81 secured him everywhere a great popular response.

HOLLAND

That Holland was getting so heavily stocked with gold as to be threatened with a period of dangerous inflation became apparent about the middle of November. The League of Public Notaries addressed a letter to Dr. Vissering, the President of the Nederlandsche Bank, asking if the uncertainty of the situation did not justify requiring the payment of mortgages and similar instruments in gold florins. Dr. Vissering replied that the high quotation of the florin was due to the large stock of gold held by the country. On account of the great prestige thus created, large amounts of money had been transferred to Holland, especially from countries of unsound currency, to say nothing of consignments from Switzerland, whence capital had been taking flight before the menace of the Socialist levy recently averted by the plebiscite.

The Government Commissioner for the administration of Netherlands credit to Germany, M. de Vries, former Minister of Finance, recently declared that the German Treuhandverwaltung had given assurance that the money borrowed in Holland would not swell the industrial funds nor enhance the German competition with Dutch industry. A member of the Second Chamber of the States General, however, has put various questions to the Minister of Finance to learn whether the four great German banks which are depositories of the sums would not cause certain German industries to profit by them.

On Nov. 27 it was published in the Amsterdam market that a loan made by the Dutch market to Germany, the first made by any foreign country after the war, amounted to 200,000,000 florins, of which 60,000,000 were to be used for purchase of foodstuffs and 140,000,000 in purchase of raw materials. A year ago Germany used 26,500,000 florins of the foodstuffs credit. However, on other borrowings on the same credit it had paid back 24,100,000.

The Dutch Government, on Nov. 30, accepted an invitation from Secretary Hughes for Hol-

land's participation in the conference set for Dec. 10 in the Hague Peace Palace to discuss the changes in war rules necessitated by new technical inventions in warfare not covered by international law, such as aeronautics and wireless. The initiative for this conference was taken during the Washington Armament Conference. The subjects of submarine warfare and noxious gases were to be excluded. Other participants besides the United States are Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan. The American delegation was headed by Dr. John Bassett Moore, American member of the International Court of Justice, and included Rear Admiral W. L. Rogers, technical naval adviser; Commander Firde A. Todd, assistant technical naval adviser; Lieutenant Frederic W. Nielson, naval aviation adviser and aid to Admiral Rogers; Brig. Gen. William H. Johnson, Colonel Frederick M. Brown, Colonel George S. Gibbs and Major William C. Sherman, technical military advisers.

The Dutch Government, on Nov. 22, opened negotiations with Washington and Tokio, claiming a share in the Yap cable line by virtue of the German-Dutch treaty negotiated before the war.

NORWAY

Negotiations on the Greenland controversy between the Norwegian and Danish Governments have been interrupted pending the Storthing's framing of a definite proposition for solution of the question. The recent installation of a provisional Norwegian wireless station on the east coast of Greenland, at about 75 deg. 15 min. north latitude, has caused some animated discussions in the press of the two countries. Denmark resents what it calls "Norway's intrepid initiative" in this matter. A prominent speaker in the Rigsdag lately called for prompt Government action to secure Danish rights in the regions concerned. On the other hand, the Norwegian press denies Denmark's alleged "historical right" to sovereignty over the uninhabited east coast of Greenland, to which Norwegian sealers, whalers and fishermen have gone for decades as pioneers, creating great economic interests. The United States and allied countries recognized Denmark's claim to the whole of Greenland at the time of Denmark's sale of the Virgin Islands in the West Indies to the United States.

On Nov. 26 it became known that the Kingdom of Norway had established a system of industrial shop councils, like those of the German Republic, in all public and private plants and businesses employing not less than fifty persons. Critics attribute this Government move to the growing influence of the Communist Party.

In connection with the new Norwegian-Spanish commercial treaty, growing out of the conflict between the Norwegian prohibition law and the wine-producing interests of Spain, Norway established a full legation at Madrid. Norwegian interests in Spain had previously been handled by the Norwegian Minister at Paris. Minister Michael Lie, formerly Norway's Minister to Rome, stated before leaving for his Madrid post late in November that the new treaty showed the utmost favor to practically all Norwegian exports

to Spain, with satisfactory concessions to Spanish interests.

DENMARK

Organized emigration, on account of industrial depression and unemployment, has been recently much discussed in Denmark. Nicaragua and Colombia have expressed willingness to assist Danish immigrants to settle in those countries, and several hundred Danes have accepted these proposals. France, however, has a far more important plan, by which Denmark will participate in the colonization of Madagascar. The French authorities are to inaugurate public works, to be carried out by Danish engineers, to undertake forestry work with Danish labor, and to place land at the disposal of Danish farmers. The emigrants are to organize themselves into Danish communities, with their own schools, and to maintain their own nationality. Denmark is planning the formation of a mixed Franco-Danish Committee of experts to investigate in Madagascar the feasibility of the plan. The question of how far the State can assist the various plans for organized emigration is to be debated soon in the Rigsdag. Danish emigration to the United States has been only 57.6 per cent. of its quota in the last fiscal year.

SWEDEN

Late in November it transpired that the October elections to the Provincial Councils had showed a sharp decline in the strength of the Liberal Party, whose seats dropped in number from 291 to 192. The Social Democratic (Government) Party seats rose from 322 to 346, strengthening the position of Premier Hjalmar Branting, although the Left Wing Socialists (since reported as reunited with the Social Democrats) fell from 29 to 24 seats. The Communists advanced from 21 to 31, the Conservatives fell from 324 to 348, and the Agrarians dropped from 146 to 141. Only about one-third of the voters went to the polls.

To get new capital for the building of match factories abroad, especially in India—a policy which has proved advantageous—the Swedish Match Company (Svenska Tandsticks Aktiebolaget) is undertaking to double its capital stock of 45,000,000 crowns. It has entered into an agreement with a British company to place 40 per cent. of the shares issued in England.

Rejection of the appeal of influential agricultural and economic associations to prohibit importation of American wheat and rye was decided by the Government Nov. 10.

The Swedish Royal Academy of Science has awarded the Nobel Prize in Chemistry to Professor Frederick Soddy of Oxford University for his contributions to the chemistry of radioactive substances and his investigations into the nature of isotopes. The chemistry prize for 1922 has been awarded to Dr. Francis William Aston of Trinity College, Cambridge. The physics prize for 1921 has been awarded to Professor Albert Einstein of Germany, identified with the theory of relativity, and that for 1922 to Professor Niels Bohr of Copenhagen. To the Spanish dramatist, Jacinto Benavente, has been awarded the 1922

prize for outstanding achievement in literature, amounting to 500,000 francs.

SWITZERLAND

The defeat of the proposed Socialist tax levy on capital, by a majority of over 7 to 1, was greeted with great demonstrations of joy on the evening of Dec. 3. As general strikes had been threatened in case the capital levy was defeated, considerable bodies of troops patrolled Lausanne to keep the Socialists in order; but the vote of 704,785 to 101,057 was so decisive against it as to demonstrate to radical labor leaders that such action as they contemplated would have slight popular support.

All through the plebiscite campaign, from the middle of November, although the Conservatives predicted failure of the Socialist efforts, the country was on the verge of a financial panic at the prospect of a cumulative tax of 8 to 60 per cent. on all private capital exceeding 80,000 francs. Bank deposits were withdrawn and capital amounting to over 5,000,000,000 francs was exported; stocks fell rapidly; enterprise stopped, and business came almost to a standstill. For over a fortnight, on the eve of election, no gold had been circulating in Lausanne. Because of the printers' strike, organized by the Socialists in a vain effort to throttle the strenuous campaign against their proposal, all the newspapers except those of Geneva, printed over the French border, had not been published for three weeks.

ITALY

Premier Benito Mussolini, on Nov. 16, made an authoritative appearance before the Chamber of Deputies and, during a tense session, in a speech notable for terse directness, crisp vigor, peremptory dignity, and inexorable force, he outlined his internal and foreign policies and his program for bureaucratic and financial reform. In conclusion he requested Parliament to vote him full powers in his bureaucratic and financial fields, leaving him a free hand to introduce whatever measures he deemed best, unhampered by Parliamentary considerations. With the air of a conqueror who could not be gainsaid, the Fascist Premier spoke to the point in short, staccato sentences, with great dignity and with little gesticulation. No oratorical flights were indulged in; no words wasted.

The Chamber had been filled to its capacity long before the appointed hour, and scores of disappointed members of the public were turned away from the doors. When Premier Mussolini entered at the head of his Cabinet, the whole Chamber, except the Extreme Left, arose as one man and cheered wildly, the Fascist Deputies raising their war cry, "A la la!" The Prime Minister virtually ignored the ovation, and proceeded straight to his seat. Again the cheering burst forth when he rose to speak. Standing in a characteristic attitude, with chin thrust out and head thrown back, as he set his clenched fists on the table before him, his compelling dark eyes seemed to fix with unwinking gaze by turns every man in the hall. Everybody who had come

to hear him was expectant of some pretty plain speaking, but his peremptory and almost menacing expressions exceeded all expectations.

"Gentlemen [he began], what I am doing today, in this Chamber, I do as an act of formal deference toward you, an act for which I ask of you no certificate of especial gratitude. For many, too many, years, the Chamber has made and solved Ministerial crises by means of manoeuvres and ambushes more or less tortuous, to such a point that a crisis was always described as an 'assault,' and the Ministry represented as a crazy postal coach. Now, for the second time in less than a decade, the Italian people—the best part of it—has thrown a Ministry out of its seat and has chosen for itself a Government from outside, above and against any Parliamentary indication. That short decade lies between May, 1915, and October, 1922. On this point I leave the task of lachrymose dissertation to the sad zealots of hyper-constitutionalism. Revolution, I affirm, has its own right. So that all may know, I add that I am here to defend and to implement in the highest degree our 'Black Shirt' revolution, and to inject it intimately into the story of the nation as a power of development, progress, and balance.

"From triumph unlimited, I have abstained; though it lay in my hand. I have set bounds to myself. The best wisdom, I thought, is the wisdom that fails not after victory. With 300,000 youths, fully armed, ready for anything, and, as it were, mystically devoted to my orders, I might have punished those who defamed and sought to break Fascism. I might have made of this Chamber, so dull and gray, a bivouac for companies of Fascisti. I might have put a padlock on Parliament, or have made a Government solely Fascista.

"I have made a Coalition Government, not indeed with the object of getting a Parliamentary majority, which I can today well do without, but in order to rally to the help of our prostrate nation those who, above all party shadings, would fain save it."

All treaties which had been signed and ratified, he declared, must be strictly respected. On the other hand, Italy could not afford the luxury of too much altruism; other countries must reciprocate. His formula in dealing with them was very simple: "We will give nothing if we receive nothing in return." It was his intention to find out if such a thing as the Entente existed in substance, and Italy's position in it.

"Unless the Entente becomes a homogeneous, well-balanced bloc, with equal rights and equal duties, Italy will resume her liberty of action. At Brussels, Italy will maintain that reparations and the interallied debts cannot be discussed separately."

His internal policy comprised three things: economy, work, discipline. The financial problem is fundamental. "We must arrive at a balancing of the budget. * * * We will rule impartially, without favoritism for any class, in town or country.

"Whoever stands against the Government will be punished. * * * The State will perfect

its armed forces to act as our supreme reserve, both internally and externally."

Premier Mussolini closed with words of warning to the Chamber:

"You will soon learn from the heads of the various Departments of State the details of our program. I wish, as long as practicable, not to govern against the Chamber; but the Chamber ought to realize its own special position which makes it susceptible of dissolution in two days—or in two years. We ask for full powers because we mean to take full responsibility. The country smiles upon us and waits. We shall not give it further words, but deeds. Let us rather work with pure hearts and eager minds to assure the prosperity and the grandeur of our country; and may God help me victoriously to achieve my arduous work."

The effect of the speech was tremendous. The Socialists' one attempt at interruption was quickly put down. The quiet decorum, broken only by bursts of applause, was in striking contrast to the pandemonium of catcalls and abuse of the Ministers that characterized the sittings of a few months ago.

Proceeding from the Chamber of Deputies to the Senate, Premier Mussolini told that body at the outset that the first portion of his speech in the Chamber was not applicable to the Senate, to which he was not required to use the same harsh language. He regarded the Senate as a force in the State, as an essential organ for just and prudent administration. "Italian youth, whose spokesman and representative I claim to be, looks to the Senate in a spirit of utter patriotism and sympathy." Then the Premier repeated the address he had made in the Chamber. Returning to the Chamber, he sat quietly throughout the speeches made by Deputies of five groups, none of whom directly attacked the Government. Most of them respected his request to cut their talk short.

On Nov. 17, the Chamber of Deputies, by a strong vote of confidence for the new Government of Premier Mussolini, placed the seal of legality on the Fascista movement, which three weeks before had been denounced by the authorities as being rebellion and revolution. The vote was 306 to 116.

On Nov. 20, by seven votes to two, the commission, under the Presidency of ex-Premier Salandra, which was charged with examining the proposed law for conferring full powers on the Mussolini Government until Dec. 31, 1923, approved the measure.

On Dec. 6 the Mussolini newspaper in Milan, which, since Benito Mussolini became Premier, has been edited by his brother Arnaldo, published an obviously inspired article warning the press of Italy in general, and the Roman press in particular, that the Government was going to muzzle the newspapers if they did not cease publishing false and misleading news.

A Paris section of the Fascisti was organized Nov. 30 at a meeting presided over by Nicola Bonservizi, delegate of the Central Committee of

the Fascista Party. It aims to group Italians for the defense of Italian interests and to spread Italian art, culture and science by intensive propaganda.

Baron Sidney Sonnino, "the silent statesman of Italy," twice Prime Minister and also Foreign Minister during the war, died Nov. 23, of an apoplectic stroke. He had in previous years rendered great services as Minister of Finance.

Minister of Public Works, Gabriello Carnazza, on Nov. 22, cut 100,000,000 lire a year in the operation of the Italian railroad system, in pursuance of the Mussolini Government's retrenchment in public utilities.

TRIPOLI

Revolt against Italian rule in Tripoli was foreshadowed by the announcement made in the middle of November that the Sheik el Said Mohammed el Senussi had succeeded in extending his authority over the great majority of the Arab tribes between Solloum, on the Egyptian frontier, and the Tunisian boundaries. It was further stated that notables of Cyrenaica had met notables of Triooli at Kasr Sirte and concluded a written agreement, entitled the "Treaty of National Union," under which all agreed to unite against Italian occupation and sink all feuds until the country gained its independence. The treaty also proclaimed the Sheik el Senussi as the recognized chief of all Libyan Nationalist forces and favored election of a council to organize a new system of administration in Libya. The Sheik el Senussi was given the title of Prince of Tripoli and Cyrenaica. The treaty is both an offensive and defensive alliance of Libyan Arabs under the Sheik el Senussi as chief, with Mohammed Massud of the Tarhuma tribes and Ahmed el Murayad of the Misrata tribes as lieutenants. The latter tribes are the most formidable fighters of Tripolitania and, though usually at enmity with each other, are now in perfect accord.

SPAIN

At the opening of the Cortes, on Nov. 14, Premier Sanchez Guerra read a decree formally abolishing the Juntas, or army officers' committee. The Deputies welcomed the decree with rounds of applause, and the dissolution of the Juntas was subsequently accepted in silence and with perfect discipline by the army. By a special provision of the Spanish Constitution called the Padlock law, this bill, which was recognized as a bold and momentous step on the part of the Cabinet, came into force from the moment it was read in the House—before it was discussed or voted on by the Chamber. It repeals the decree under the cloak of which the Juntas remained in existence, and forbids army officers to form part of any association of a military character outside their service or to give their word of honor in any matter directly or indirectly in contradiction to existing laws and regulations.

A proposal, signed by all the Liberal leaders, was read in the Chamber, demanding the disso-

lution of the officers' committee and requesting that precautions be taken against a renewal of the causes which led to their formation. The proposal provides for a new system of army promotions in return for services of extraordinary merit, and, in addition, the granting of medals and other decorations to soldiers for valor. Its purpose is abolition of the old method of advancement of officers only through seniority rule, the system demanded by the Juntas. The infantry officers' committees, and later the cavalry, artillery and engineer officers came into the organization, which intervened in politics with a view to strengthening the army in all its branches, in opposition to the Government's desires in this respect. With public opinion behind them, the Juntas obtained some much-needed reforms; but in time they became so powerful that they could dictate to the War Ministers. Through frequent abuse of their power they lost public support; but both a Minister's decree and a subsequent Royal decree failed to suppress them or even break their power. The seriousness of the problem culminated in the resignation from the army, on Nov. 12, of Lieut. Col. Millan-Astray, Commander of the Foreign Legion, who published a manifesto stating that he could not remain in an army in which two powers existed, "one legal, that of the Government, and one subversive, that of the military Juntas." The country was roused and, acting on the general demand for decisive action, the Government issued its dissolution decree.

The united Liberals continued their attacks on the Government to secure reforms of the Constitution to render impossible Ministerial suspension of the Constitutional guarantees at will, and by various elements to fix the responsibility for the military disasters in Morocco in 1921. On Dec. 5, Premier Guerra presented the resignation of his Ministry for the second time in four days. The Chamber of Deputies, sitting as a committee of the whole, resolved to approve the presentation of Señor Cambo's motion demanding impeachment of the members of the Allende Salazar Ministry for their responsibility for the Moroccan disaster to the Spanish arms. Exciting scenes in the Chamber followed suspension of the debate on the motion, owing to the Premier's departure for the Palace. In the Senate General Berenguer, former High Commissioner in Morocco, declared that he alone was responsible for everything that occurred in the Melilla zone after he took command on July 21, 1921, and



(© Keystone)

GENERAL RICARDO BURGUETE

The new Spanish High Commissioner in Morocco, appointed to bring about peace with the rebel chiefs

pleaded with the Senate to accede to the demand for his impeachment. His offer to sacrifice himself for the nation was received in tense silence.

The Spanish Government on Nov. 5 denounced the commercial treaty concluded with the United States on Aug. 1, 1906. As Article III. of the treaty provides continuance of the treaty for one year after its denunciation by one of the contracting parties, the treaty will expire Nov. 5, 1923. It accorded to the United States most-favored-nation treatment, except for special advantages conceded to Portugal, while the United States agreed to special rates of duty upon brandies, wines, crude tartar and certain other Spanish products.

PORTUGAL

Premier Silva completed reconstruction of the Portuguese Cabinet on Nov. 30, leaving in abeyance the filling of the posts of Agriculture and Labor. For the present the Cabinet comprises:

ANTONIO MARIA SILVA—Premier and Minister of the Interior.

VITTORIO GUIMARAES—Finance.

DOMINGOS PEREIRA—Foreign Affairs.

CATANHO MENEZES—Justice.

GENERAL VIEIRA DA ROCHA—War.

LEONARDO COIMBRA—Education.

COMMANDER AZEVEDO COUTINHO—Marine.

RODRIGUES GASPARD—Colonies.

VASCO BORGES—Commerce.

Premier Silva handed to the President of the republic on Nov. 8 the collective resignations of the old Cabinet, following the political debate in Parliament that showed the necessity of reorganizing the Ministry before the adjournment of the Chambers. President Almeida expressed his confidence in Senhor Silva and charged him with the reorganization. It was generally hoped that the political stability established by Premier Silva in the nine months he had been in power would continue, as the new spirit it had infused into the country had moderated Parliamentary opposition.

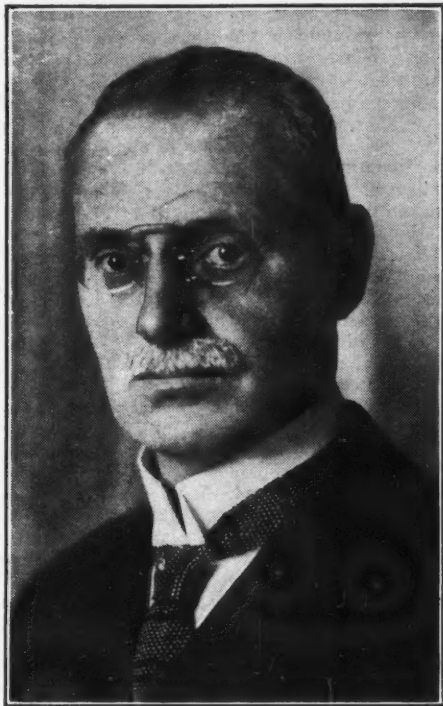
General attention had been turned from petty politics to questions of national interest and patriotic sentiment. The enthusiasm in Brazil over the hydroplane flight of the two aviators between Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro was echoed in Portugal and enhanced the warmth of President Almeida's reception on his visit to the Brazilian capital.

GERMANY

A political crisis which brought about the fall of the Wirth Cabinet was precipitated on Nov. 13, when the Stinnes-Stresemann German People's Party, successor to the National Liberal Party of pre-revolutionary days, served a peremptory demand on the Chancellor for participation in the Government on full terms of equality with the Coalition parties. The demand was supported by the two non-Socialist Coalition parties, the Centre and the Democrats, which were both determined to force the Social Democrats to modify their economic and financial program if they were to stay in the Government. The United Social Democratic Party thus faced the alterna-

tive of the existing Coalition Government, taking up belligerent opposition against a Government of the bourgeois Democratic, Centrist and German People's parties, or of agreeing on a compromise with the bourgeois parties and forming a so-called "Great Coalition" with the capitalistic Stinnes party as a political bedfellow.

Swayed by the radical Left Wing of former Independent Socialists, who opposed any dealings



DR. EUGEN VON KNILLING
Premier of Bavaria

with capitalists and reactionaries, the United Social Democratic Party finally rejected on Nov. 14 the proposed "Great Coalition," and the same evening the Wirth Government resigned. Wilhelm Cuno, Director General of the Hamburg-American Steamship Line, was on Nov. 16 commissioned by President Ebert to form a new Cabinet.

His initial efforts to form a Ministry were blocked by the leaders of the middle parties and of the United Socialists, who tried to dictate Cabinet appointments to him. This caused President Ebert on Nov. 18 to send for the party leaders and inform them quite bluntly that he had instructed Dr. Cuno to select a Cabinet independently of party considerations and in a manner best suited to the requirements of his program. Dr. Cuno thereupon resumed his task of forming a Ministry. As his intention was to recruit his Ministers from "big business" circles as well as from the ranks of the Socialists, the latter decided on Nov. 19 to take no part in helping to

form a non-partisan "Cabinet of work," thus remaining consistent to their slogan, "Down with Stinnes." The new Cabinet was announced on Nov. 21 as follows:

WILHELM CUNO—Chancellor.

Dr. CARL HEINZE—Vice Chancellor and Minister of Justice.

Baron VON ROSENBERG—Foreign Affairs.

RUDOLPH OESER—Interior.

ANDREAS HERMES—Finance.

JOHANNES BECKER—Economics.

Dr. HEINRICH ALBERT—Treasury.

General WILHELM GROENER—Transportation.

Herr STINCL—Posts and Telegraphs.

HERMAN MUELLER—Food.

Dr. O. GESSLER—Defense.

Dr. HEINRICH BRAUN—Labor.

Only seven active Parliamentarians are represented in the new Ministry, the Democrats supplying three, the Clericals two and the German People's Party two.

Dr. Cuno made his first appearance in the Reichstag on Nov. 24, when he read the new Government's declaration of policy. There would be no break, he said, between the policy of the Wirth Government and his. That policy he defined thus:

"The policy of the nation's self-preservation, of the strengthening of Germany's economic life, to be followed by the best possible performance of treaty obligations from the surplus after urgent German requirements are covered.

"We do not ignore the possibility of tendencies beyond our frontiers aiming at further encroachments, and we look with anxiety on our heavily tried brethren in the occupied Rhine area, who are supporting with wonderful patience the burden of occupation, which is in its character frequently opposed to the civilized institutes of the moral world. This Government will never surrender the occupied German territory."

The Chancellor, in the course of a speech in Berlin on Dec. 4, declared that unless France reduced her demands for reparations to a point where he believed them possible of fulfillment he would never sign an agreement with the Reparation Commission.

In a new effort to stabilize the mark and provide cash for reparation payments, the German Government on Nov. 13, the day before Chancellor Wirth's resignation, forwarded a formal note to the Reparation Commission in Paris, stating that the Reichsbank was prepared to advance the Government 500,000,000 gold marks, provided that an equal amount were forthcoming from abroad and subject to the conditions proposed by the foreign financial experts who visited Berlin as essential to the success of the stabilization project. This proposal was adopted by the new Ministry, headed by Dr. Cuno, and on Dec. 6 it was reported that the German Government would supplement the note of Nov. 13 by pledging Germany to specific guarantees in connection with her reparation obligations and internal reforms.

The allied powers, through the Council of Ambassadors in Paris, informed the German Government on Nov. 16 that all questions concerning

the withdrawal of the Military Control Commission in Germany had been suspended until the Government gave the fullest satisfaction for what were termed "flagrant violations" of the military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles committed during the previous six months, and until there was evidence of willingness to abide by the commission's instructions.

A new reactionary, nationalistic and anti-Semitic movement has begun to develop in Bavaria and other parts of Germany in imitation of the Italian Fascisti. The movement was initiated by a Bavarian named Hitler, who distinguished himself as a common soldier during the war. His followers are called "Hakenkreuzlers" on account of the Swastika cross which has been adopted as their emblem. Hitler, who now has 30,000 members in his organization in Munich alone, about two years ago formed a small group of National Socialists which slowly grew from insignificance to its present proportions.

In the Bavarian Parliament on Nov. 21 Dr. Schweyer, Minister of the Interior, caused a sensation by making the following statement: "The Hitler party has since Mussolini's success gained a very great number of new members, drawing them from the radical parties as well. Their program is in a few points unacceptable by the Government, but for the rest could be accepted without hesitation. I have no occasion to take action against the National Socialist Party."

Fines of 500,000 gold marks each were imposed by the Council of Ambassadors on the towns of Passau and Ingolstadt, Bavaria, as a penalty for their aggressive attitude and insults by the people toward allied officers engaged in disarmament control.

The arrest took place in Munich on Nov. 30 of Captain Ehrhardt, who made the Kapp revolution of March, 1920, in Berlin possible by capturing the city single-handed with his famous Iron Marine Brigade and who, since the dissolution of the brigade in the following July, had been a fugitive from the German Republican authorities.

AUSTRIA

The League of Nations plan for the rehabilitation of Austrian finances was passed on Nov. 26 by the National Assembly on a strictly party vote, and the Geneva protocols were ratified. The Government supporters numbered 114 out of the 183 members, so that its adoption was



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DR. WILHELM
KIESELBACH

German envoy to
the United States
representing his
Government on the
American - German
War Claims Com-
mission

inevitable, despite the opposition of the Social Democrats. Enough members of the latter party absented themselves from the Chamber in the final voting to give the Government the required two-thirds majority for the enactment of the law creating an advisory committee composed proportionately of members of the different parties, which will virtually supplant Parliament in meeting the demands of the League of Nations as they develop during the period of reconstruction.

The Government speakers pointed out that there would be no modification of the Constitution in the proposed arrangements, but did not attempt to conceal the fact that they would impose great sacrifices on the Austrian people. The plan provides for economies which will reduce administration expenses to one-third through the discontinuance of unessential functions. The number of ministries is to be reduced to eight, and the whole of the administrative machinery will be simplified, whereby most of the present officials will become superfluous. Civil servants are not to enjoy exemption from the income tax, as heretofore, and must contribute toward their own pensions. War plants and possibly mines are to be disposed of.

Financial operations are to be centralized in a Bank of Issue, which is to have a share capital of 30,000,000 gold crowns (\$6,000,000). Federal advances to provinces and municipalities are to be reduced and within three years discontinued.

By adjustment of important duties customs receipts are to be doubled. It is expected that they will yield 80,000,000 crowns (\$16,000,000).

The League of Nations plan is expected to stop further inflation. Dr. Zimmerman, Mayor of Rotterdam, has accepted the offer of the League to become Commissioner General of Austria and was expected to take up his duties at the end of December.

Gardner Richardson of Woodstock, Conn., sailed on the Olympic on his way to Vienna to resume work as head of the American Relief Administration, whose service will be continued until next June, owing to urgent conditions among the professional and middle classes. Kitchens will be established for professional men and students, food packages will be distributed and food will be furnished to convalescent homes and similar institutions.

JUGOSLAVIA

Jugoslavia was surprised by a Cabinet crisis on Dec. 4 in which Nikola Pashitch, her veteran diplomat and Premier, aged 77, was ousted from office by a peasant bloc in the Chamber, led by M. Raditch. This bloc held the balance of power against the Democrats and Radicals, and one of its chief aims, which is backed by the Croatian Fascisti, is the creation of a Croatian Republic within the monarchy of Jugoslavia. From that to complete independence would be a short step.

The Yugoslav National Assembly in secret session on Nov. 11 voted a credit of 800,000,000 dinars in view of the threatening situation in the Near East.

Prince George, elder brother of King Alex-



(© Harris & Ewing)

ANTHONY TRESICH
PAVICHICH
New Yugoslav Min-
ister to the United
States



PRINCE GEORGE,
of Yugoslavia

ander, who renounced his rights as Crown Prince of Serbia in 1909 and has lately been urging the Yugoslav Cabinet to increase his civil list allowance, made his submission to the Crown Council on Nov. 12 in a letter addressed to the King, expressing regret for his past behavior, asking forgiveness and promising in future to fulfill his obligation as a member of the royal family and to respect its statutes.

ALBANIA

A Constitutional Assembly is to be called to determine the definite form of Albania's constitutional régime, according to a statement made by the Albanian delegation to the League of Nations. The report that a revolution had broken out in Albania and that the Government had fled from Tirana, taking refuge in Valona, was not confirmed.

Albania occupies the unique position among European nations of being the only country which has no national debt, and has a gold currency.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Czechoslovakia's industrial crisis is being rapidly overcome. Statistics show that the only important decrease in exports was in coal and iron, and this was due to a difference between owners and miners which has now been eliminated. The men have accepted a decrease of 30 per cent. in wages, which is to be followed by a corresponding decrease in the price of coal and the cost of production in the iron industry. M. Novak, the Minister of Commerce, proposes a reduction of the tariff in the hope of stimulating foreign trade. Czechoslovakia is the first country in Europe to attempt to break down tariff walls.

Dr. A. Rasin, the Minister of Finance, in presenting the 1923 budget to the Chamber, included the interest due on loans granted by the Allies

and credits advanced by the United States, adding: "The Czechoslovak Republic accepted these credits, and the duty to pay interest due and amortization. By the appropriation in the budget it will be clearly manifested that we want to meet all our credit obligations fully and in due time."

At the same time army appropriations were to be cut 333,000,000 crowns, compared with this year. Paper notes in circulation on Oct. 31 last year amounted to 11,206,312,000 crowns, which by Sept. 30 had been reduced to 10,196,880,000 crowns and by Oct. 31 to 9,559,842,000 crowns.

The Czechoslovak military authorities are investigating the theft of important documents from the command at Brno in connection with two alleged conspiracies for the sale of secret mobilization plans to a foreign power. Dr. Baeran, a German National Deputy, three army officers and several civilians were arrested.

Jan Kubelik, the violinist, has been authorized by the Czech Government to purchase the property in Slovakia owned by Count Albert Apponyi, former Hungarian Premier, which was under sequestration. Kubelik's wife was a Hungarian, and it is understood that the violinist is buying the property, which for centuries belonged to the Apponyi family, always a great protector of the arts, in order to prevent its subdivision.

RUMANIA

Eftimie Antonescu, Chairman of the Rumanian Debt Commission, completed his proposals for payment of the Rumanian war debt to the United States on Nov. 22, but was unable to specify when payment of interest could be begun. The final arrangement with the American Foreign Debt Commission in Washington consisted of a refunding plan, similar to that being arranged for Austria's debt, and its adoption is contingent upon approval by the interested allied nations. The Rumanian Commission left for London to consult the representatives of the great powers about to gather there to consider European debt questions generally.

Rumania's industrial and economic conditions are improving steadily, and the natural wealth and productiveness of the country make for liquidation of her debts in a few years. Exports of oil are steadily increasing, figures for the first eight months of 1922 being 246,780 tons, compared with 146,716 tons last year. The principal buyers are Italy, Germany, Turkey and France. Jean Bratiano, the Rumanian Premier, is considering a bill retaining for the State subsoil rights similar to those Mexico has succeeded in keeping from the grasp of foreign capitalists. The main point at issue is whether all mineral-bearing formations shall be declared State property. If they are, the amount of petroleum-yielding territory belonging to the State would be greatly augmented.

Rumania in October presented a note to the Moscow Government on the Bessarabian dispute, in which emphasis was laid on the fact that Russia forcibly seized Bessarabia in 1812. Rumania is willing to open negotiations if Russia will accept the Dniester River as the Russo-Rumanian

frontier. Tchitcherin replied on Nov. 10 that Russia regards the Pruth River as the frontier, and requires Rumania to evacuate Bessarabia. Russia, he said, will never agree to Rumania's annexation of the province.

HUNGARY

Hungary is witnessing a rapid growth of the Fascisti movement, similar to that in Italy. It was founded early in the Autumn by the former Premier, Stefan Friedrich, and several Deputies and politicians. The home office on Nov. 12 issued an order for its suppression and for the dissolution of the local organizations.

The map of Hungary has been completed by the Interallied Territorial Commission, acting under the authority of the Trianon treaty. Its boundary decisions were mostly in favor of Hungary, the corrected lines annexing about 35,000 acres from the lost provinces. Several villages on the Yugoslav border around Szegeden are returned to Hungary and the big estates of former Archduke Friedrich on the Austrian border are also given back.

Baron Koranyi, former Minister of Finance, left Budapest for London on Dec. 6 to plead for a reduction of the reparations imposed on Hungary, which he declared would result in her complete economic collapse if enforced.

BULGARIA

Bulgaria on Nov. 19 held a referendum to decide whether certain Cabinet Ministers during the Balkan wars and the World War were guilty of embroiling Bulgaria in conflict without sufficient diplomatic and military preparation, and of acts detrimental to the country's interests. Twenty-two former Ministers were found guilty by about 75 per cent. of the voters. The Ministers of the Radoslavoff Cabinet were not included in the judgment. Trials of the latter for involving Bulgaria in the World War were conducted separately. The American and allied Ministers in Sofia appealed in vain for the release of the Gueshoff, Malinoff and Todoroff Cabinets, which included four graduates of the American College in Constantinople.

There was a repetition of the uprising at Nevrokop on Nov. 28, when a band of Macedonian autonomists occupied Kostendil, accompanied by members of the opposition bloc, but withdrew in the afternoon without resistance on the approach of Government troops. The general impression was that it was due to the opposition using the Macedonian question to attack the Government.

A technical school, organized by the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association, was opened in Sofia on Dec. 6 in the presence of the King and the American Minister. Its purpose is to give a practical knowledge of handicraft to Bulgarian refugees from Macedonia and Thrace, and also to Russian refugees, of whom the school has 240.

GREECE

The whole month from Nov. 10 was devoted to the political trials, which have created a world-wide sensation. These trials affected the former Premiers, Messrs. Demetrios Gounaris, Nicholas Stratos, Petros Protapapadakis, the Ministers Nicholas Theotokis, George Baltadjis (or Baltazis), Generals George Hadjianestis and Xenophon Stratigos, and Admiral Goudas, the six first being condemned to death and shot, while the last two received life sentences at hard labor.

The trials began on Nov. 13, when Mr. Gounaris questioned the fitness of a Revolutionary Court to try the majority leaders of a constitutionally elected National Assembly, who could be legally tried only by their peers. This objection was overruled by the court. In the following days General Papoulas, former Commander-in-Chief of the Greek armies in Asia Minor, declared that the advance toward Angora in August, 1921, was ill-advised and undertaken against his opposition. The same witness deposed that the advance toward Constantinople in July, 1922, so weakened



ALEXANDER
ZAIMIS

Who was succeeded by Colonel Gounatas as head of the Greek Government

the front in Asia Minor that the collapse became inevitable. Mr. Gounaris in the course of the trial stated that he had official proof of the encouragement given him personally by Lord Curzon, to the effect that Greece could always rely on the support of Great Britain irrespective of the persons who governed the country. This proof was excluded by the Revolutionary Court. This was the last appearance of Mr. Gounaris in court, as on the following day, Nov. 20, he was taken sick with typhus, and was in the last stages of suffering when he was taken out in a stretcher and shot, one week later. On Nov. 21 the accused Ministers, X. Stratigos, N. Theotokis and G. Baltadjis, took the stand and replied to all accusations. On the next day Mr. Stratos spoke for eight hours defending his official actions. On the same day the leader of the anti-Venizelist opposition, General Ioannis Metaxas, appealed to the Premier, Mr. Krokidas, and pleaded with him to ask that any sentence passed upon the accused by the Revolutionary Court be appealed to the National Assembly to be elected in the near future. This plea was rejected. Following this uncompromising attitude of the Revolutionary Court Mr. Krokidas resigned the Premiership, and Mr. Alexander Zaimis, who was about to succeed him, refused to lead the Government, as

he was not willing to work under the tutelage of the military leaders of the revolution. Mr. Gounaris's defense was read in court on Nov. 24, and on the same day the Revolutionary Judge Advocate demanded the death penalty for all the accused. On Nov. 25 Colonel Gonatas, being unable to get any of the political leaders to assume the Premiership took it himself, and reorganized his Cabinet. The new Greek Government was constituted as follows:

COLONEL STYLIEN GONATAS—Premier without portfolio.

LIEUT. GEN. PIERRAKOS MAVROMIHALIS—Interior.

GEORGE PREKAS—Finance.

LIEUT. GEN. THEODORE PANGALOS—War.

VICE ADMIRAL D. VOULGARIS—Navy.

E. CANELLOPOULOS—National Economy.

M. RENTIS—Justice.

COMMANDER GERONTAS—Posts and Telegraphs.

COLONEL SAKELLARPOULOS—Communications.

APOSTOLOS ALEXANDRIS—Foreign Affairs.

APOSTOLOS DOXIADES—Public Assistance.

A. SIOTIS—Public Education and Ecclesiastical Affairs.

This Ministry took charge on Nov. 27. On the following day the arguments for the defense were heard in the Revolutionary Court, and these were followed in turn by the prosecution, demanding again the death penalty for the accused. The court retired at midnight, and came out of the consultation room at 2 o'clock in the morning, with a death sentence for the five former Ministers and the former Commander-in-Chief of the Greek Army in Asia Minor, and a decree of life imprisonment for the other two. The sentence was carried out at 11 o'clock in the morning, the accused men being fined in addition the following sums: 200,000 drachmas for Mr. Gounaris, 355,000 for Mr. Stratos, 500,000 for Mr. Protopapadakis, 1,000,000 for Mr. Baltadjis, 1,000,000 for Mr. Theotokis and 200,000 for Mr. Goudas. This means the practical confiscation of the private fortunes of the murdered men. On the following day the British Minister at Athens, Mr. F. O. Lindley, who did all he could to save the lives of the ex-Ministers, left the Grecian capital and severed relations with the Government of Colonel Gonatas. On Dec. 1 the Greek Minister at Washington, Mr. Lambros Coromilas, an appointee of Mr. Venizelos himself, sent to Athens his resignation, as an expression of protest against the execution of the ex-Premiers. On Dec. 3 Prince Andrew of Greece was tried for treason and sentenced to banishment from Greece, in addition to losing his commission in the army. The American Chargé d'Affaires at Athens, Mr. Jefferson Caffery, visited the Foreign Office on Dec. 5 and informed the Greek Revolutionary Government of the painful impression that the murders had created in the United States. Colonel Plasteras, Chief of the Revolutionary Committee, announced on Dec. 10 that all persons connected with the recent military disaster in Asia Minor will be tried by the Revolutionary Court-Martial. General elections were indefinitely postponed.

TURKEY

Important steps toward the extinction of the old order in Turkey and toward the creation of a new sovereign State have been taken by the



Wide World Photo

RAFET PASHA
Turkish Nationalist Governor of
Constantinople

Grand National Assembly at Angora during the past month. Following the abolition of the Sultanate, a new Caliph, deprived of all temporal authority, has been elected as religious head of the Moslem world.

The National Assembly on Nov. 16 accused the ex-Sultan, Mohammed VI., of treason, and ordered him and his Cabinet Ministers to be placed on trial. The ex-Sultan, who had so far remained in his palace in Constantinople, refusing to abdicate, now believed that his life was in danger and applied to the British authorities for protection. Lieut. Gen. Harington thereupon communicated with the Government in London, and arrangements were made for Mohammed VI. to take his departure in a British battleship. On the morning of Nov. 17 the former Sultan, with his ten-year-old son, Prince Ertogrul Effendi, and six members of the palace staff, slipped quietly out of the side entrance to the palace, drove in an automobile to the British naval base, embarked in the barge of Vice Admiral Brock, and a few minutes later arrived on board the dreadnaught *Malaya*, without anybody being aware of the flight. The ex-monarch, who was welcomed in the name of King George on setting

foot on British territory, replied that he felt safe under the protection of Great Britain, adding that he was not abdicating, but was merely removing himself from the danger which was immediately threatening. The Malaya then steamed off for Malta, where arrangements were to be considered as to where Mohammed VI should eventually take up his residence.

Great Britain's defense for giving refuge to the ex-Sultan was that he formally asked as Caliph of the Mussulmans for protection from what he considered a personal danger, and that Great Britain could do nothing else but comply. It was pointed out that Great Britain had traditionally been the refuge of deposed sovereigns, and that even Napoleon had been removed to safety on a British ship.

Abdul Medjid Effendi, second son of the late Sultan Aziz and cousin of Mohammed VI, was elected Supreme Caliph of the Moslems by the Grand National Assembly at Angora on Nov. 18. Explaining this act, Rafet Pasha, Military Governor of Constantinople, said that Mohammed VI by his flight had surrendered the Caliphate, because, according to the Moslem law, when the Sultan left Turkish soil and entered Christian territory he placed himself under Christian protection, and thereby ceased to retain any authority over Moslems. Rafet added that Great Britain's part in the escape was a flagrant interference in Turkey's internal affairs.

The new Caliph was invested with the sacred mantle of the Prophet Mohammed in the Topcapou Palace, overlooking the Golden Horn, on Nov. 24. The ceremonies were singularly devoid of the regal splendor and impressiveness which marked the elevation of his predecessors. The most picturesque features were the handing over to the Caliph by a delegation from Angora of the beard of the Prophet, and the bestowal on him of the Prophet's sword and green flag, the latter signifying the power of the Caliph to declare a holy war. At the conclusion of the ceremonies, Rafet Pasha felicitated the Caliph on his elevation. The party then drove in automobiles to the Mosque of Mohammed the Conqueror, where Abdul Medjid mounted the imperial throne, surrounded by the highest religious dignitaries and courtiers. For the first time in history the prayers were said in Turkish instead of Arabic. This was intended to symbolize the fact of Turkish national unity, and to indicate that the Arabs no longer form part of the Turkish State. No foreign Government was officially represented at the ceremonies, but on Nov. 27 the new Caliph received the congratulations of the French High Commissioner, the Acting British High Commissioner, and representatives of the neutral countries and of the Vatican.

The state of tension in Constantinople following the assumption of power by the Nationalists became so acute that on Nov. 12 it was announced that the British, French and Italian Governments had agreed to authorize their military representatives, if need arose, to declare a state of siege in and around the city. Two days later the situation was somewhat relieved by Rafet Pasha conceding in principle the right of

the allied forces of occupation to exercise police control over their own nationals. Nevertheless, Rafet continued to assert the rights of the Turks to administer Constantinople. General Harington, addressing a large gathering on Nov. 22, declared that the allied forces in Constantinople were a rock marked "dangerous," upon which the Turks would wreck themselves if they persisted in trying the patience of the Allies.

Americans in Constantinople were greatly reassured by the arrival on Nov. 16 of the United States cruiser Pittsburgh, flagship of Vice Admiral Andrew T. Long, commander of the American naval forces in European waters. There were then already twenty American warcraft in the Constantinople area.

Responding to an allied note alleging infringement upon foreign commercial interests, the Government of the Grand National Assembly stated that it did not recognize the capitulations, which were an anachronism, and that all agreements without a time limit were susceptible of being denounced. The reply added that the Government was simply applying its own regulations, which did not admit of exceptions.

The refusal of the Turkish Government to recognize the capitulations was reiterated in the reply to the Allied High Commissioners' protest of Nov. 15 against the seizure of Greek and Armenian property held by the Cr dit Lyonnais, a French bank, in Smyrna, and the action of the Turkish police there in arresting foreigners in the same way as Turks. The reply, which was transmitted through Rafet Pasha, regretted that the High Commissioners had based their objections on the capitulations, which the Angora Government did not recognize. The High Commissioners were advised to withdraw their objections because the treaty to be framed at Lausanne would abrogate the capitulations.

The French evacuation of Adrianople did not take place until Nov. 25, because the Turkish gendarmerie and officials who had arrived were not numerous enough to take over the city. On their reoccupation of Turkish territory the Turks were generally well received. The Greek forces crossed the Maritza River, leaving groups of gendarmes to cover the east bank of the river close to the only bridge over the stream.

The continued exodus of Christians from Turkish territory was characterized by great hardships. The Angora Government demanded that Greece should give shelter to 200,000 more women and children from the Province of Pontus; otherwise they would be deported to the interior of Anatolia. From Samsun, the most important outlet on the Black Sea for Christians fleeing from Asia Minor, it was reported on Nov. 13 that nearly 10,000 Greek and Armenian orphan children were there awaiting removal, and that 40,000 additional refugees were on their way from the interior. Still another refugee army, numbering about 30,000, was created by the Turkish order for all Christians in the Gallipoli region to depart. It was stated on Nov. 27 that something like 250,000 Christian inhabitants of northern Asia Minor were in flight to the coasts of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, and that un-

less relief were available promptly large numbers of the refugees might perish. The American Near East Relief and the flotilla of American destroyers rendered all possible aid, but required greater resources if they were to cope with the situation.

Eight of the leading Turkish opponents of the Nationalist Government were hanged at Angora on Nov. 12. They included Ali Rachid Bey, former Minister of Justice; General Emin Pasha, former commandant at Constantinople and Colonel Fettah Bey, former member of the Military Tribunal. Thirteen prominent Turks, including Tewfik Pasha, former Grand Vizier; Mustapha Sabri, former Sheik-ul-Islam, and General Suleiman Sherif Pasha, former Minister of War, arrived in Egypt on Nov. 18. It was stated that several hundred more leading Turks were leaving Constantinople for Egypt to escape from the Nationalists.

FINLAND

The long-deferred formation of Finland's new Government was made public Nov. 14. It is headed by M. Kyösti Kallio, who was Premier also of the temporary Cabinet. He has formed what is called a Centre Ministry, consisting of seven Agrarians, four Progressives and one non-party member—the Minister of Defense, General Bruno Jalander. Former Premier J. H. Vennola is Foreign Minister. The combination is regarded as weak, both in personnel and Parliamentary situation, commanding only 60 votes in a Chamber of 200. It will have to work with either the Right or the Left, and the indications are that it will look mainly to the Socialists for support, as did the previous Centre Government. The Left parties have received the new Government with sympathy, the Socialists promising it their support on condition of a cancellation, by means of a thoroughgoing general amnesty, of all scores growing out of the events of 1918. The press of the Right takes an attitude coolly aloof and skeptical, expressing satisfaction chiefly with the Government's manifest desire to develop friendly relations with the Scandinavian countries. Considering the marked swing to the Right in last Summer's elections, those who hoped for a strong bourgeois coalition regard the outcome of the negotiations with great disappointment.

The new Ministry consists of the following:
KYÖSTI KALLIO—Premier.
Professor J. H. VENNOLA—Foreign Affairs.
ERNST OTTO AKESON—Justice.
VILKKU JOUKAHAINEN—Interior.
GENERAL BRUNO JALANDER—Defense.
RASTO HEIKKI RYTI—Finance.
NILO LIAKKA—Education.
JUHO EMIL SUNILA—Agriculture.
JUHO NIUKKANEN—Vice Minister of Agriculture.
ERKKI PULLINEN—Communications.
BJARNE WESTERMARCK—Commerce and Industry.
OSKARI MANTERE—Social Welfare.

On Dec. 6 Finland celebrated her fifth anniversary as a republic, rejoicing, after many vicissitudes, in a balanced budget, excess of exports

over imports, a currency that has reached a degree of stability, and other economic achievements by which her patriotic population has justified its independence in gaining an honorable national position.

POLAND

The most momentous event of the month in Poland was the election of Gabryel Narutowicz, the Foreign Minister, as President of the Union. M. Narutowicz was elected by the National Assembly on Dec. 9, 1922.



(International)

JULIEN NOWAK
Premier of Poland

He received 289 votes on the fifth ballot, as against 228 cast for M. Zamoyski, the Polish Minister to France.

Speaker Rataj of the House of Deputies, Speaker Trampczynski of the Senate, and Prime Minister Nowak called upon the President-elect to notify him formally of the action of the National Assembly. M. Narutowicz formally signified his acceptance. Immediately following this ceremony the new President received the members of the Cabinet, who extended their congratulations.

The new President, the first elected President of the Republic of Poland, was born in Telsze, Samogitis (now a part of Lithuania), in 1865. He studied at Libau, at the Technical Institute of Petrograd, and at the Polytechnic Institute of Zurich, receiving a degree from the latter institution.

Before he became a member of the Polish Cabinet, in 1920, he had won for himself an international reputation as a waterways engineer through his professional work in France, Spain and Switzerland. At the time he was invited by Prime Minister Grabski to enter the Polish Cabinet as Minister of Public Works, he was Professor in the Polytechnic Institute of Zurich, a position he had held since 1908. After the war he served as Chairman of the International Rhine Commission, which was charged with the task of developing and utilizing the water power of that river.

M. Narutowicz served as Minister of Public Works in the Grabski Cabinet, in the two Witos Cabinets, and in the two Ponikowski Cabinets. He became Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Sliwinski Cabinet, and retained this post in the present Nowak Cabinet.

Last Spring he served as the second Polish delegate to the Genoa conference. As Minister of Foreign Affairs, the new President conducted his Ministry in such a way as to bring about closer relations with Poland's neighbors. He accompanied Chief of State Pilsudski on his visit to Rumania in September, and later took an ae-

tive part in the conference of the Baltic States' Foreign Ministers at Riga, where a common program for the Moscow disarmament conference was discussed and agreed upon.

Until the election of M. Narutowicz, Marshal Pilsudski functioned as President, with the title of Chief of State, which he had borne since November, 1918. On Dec. 4, before a joint meeting of four Parliamentary clubs which had endorsed his candidacy for President, Marshal Pilsudski announced his definite decision not to accept the nomination, leaving the field open to four or five other favorites, including former Premier Witos. A week before, Marshal Pilsudski's candidacy was unanimously endorsed by the Populist Party, "Piaŝt," whose leader is M. Witos. The Populist Party, the "Liberation" Group, the National Labor Party, and the Polish Socialist Party had been known to be his staunch and unconditional supporters. The same is true of the members of several small groups. The result of the election for the Presidency had not been announced up to the time when these pages went to press.

The first Polish elections were held for the Lower House or Diet (Sejm) on Nov. 5, and for the Senate on Nov. 12. The results of the votes for both houses, together with the party totals, are as follows:

SENATE

Christian Union of National Unity (Right) and Affiliated Parties.....	51
Polish Populist Party, "Piaŝt" (Witos Group)	17
Polish Populist Party, "Wyzwolenie" (Liberation Group).....	8
Polish Socialist Party.....	7
National Labor Party.....	2
Bloc of National Minorities and East Galician Zionists.....	26

Total111

HOUSE OF DEPUTIES (SEJM)

Christian Union of National Unity (Right).....	163
Centre Parties.....	6
Polish Populist Party, "Piaŝt" (Witos Group)	70
Polish Populist Party, "Wyzwolenie" (Liberation Group).....	49
Radical Peasants' Party (Left), (Okon Group)	2
Polish Socialist Party.....	41
Nationalist Labor Party.....	18
Communists	2
Bloc of National Minorities.....	66
East Galician Zionists.....	15
Radical Ruthenians of East Galicia.....	5
Jewish Populists.....	1
Local Jewish Lists.....	2

Total440

Grand Total.....551

In the list of parties and seats given above, the first named party is commonly referred to as the "Right," and is the strongest single bloc. It comprises the National Democrats, who are extremely nationalistic in character, and is sup-

ported by the Roman Catholic clergy in all questions affecting the interests of the Polish State as a whole. It was more or less successful throughout Poland, except in nine districts (counties), six of which lie in the eastern provinces.

The other parties, in the order named for each House, range toward the Centre in principles, and then on toward the extreme Left. The Witos Group of the Populist Party won two seats in each of three districts, and one seat in each of nine districts of the twenty-eight districts of former Congress Poland. Excepting one seat of former Congress Poland, also in all the districts of Wilno and Lida, this group obtained all the rest of its mandates in former Austrian Poland, where it carried seats in all districts, except in the cities of Cracow and Lwow. This and the related Wyzwolenie Group represent the farmers and farm labor elements.

The Liberation Group (Wyzwolenie) of the Populist Party carried seats in about one-half of former Congress Poland; also in all the districts of Polesie, Nowogrodek and Wilno, besides two seats in Western Galicia.

Next in numerical strength are the Polish Socialist Party and the National Labor Party. The Polish Socialist Party won seats in fourteen of the twenty-eight districts of former Congress Poland, and in eleven of the fifteen districts of former Austrian Poland, but, excepting two seats in Silesia, they won no seats in former Prussian territory.

The National Labor Party, aside from two seats in the city and one in the District of Lodz, obtained seats in all but two districts of former Prussian Poland.

The Bloc of National Minorities was successful in half of the districts of former Congress Poland, in seven of the twelve districts in former Prussian Poland, including Silesia, and won seats in districts throughout the eastern voyvodships (provinces) of Polesie, Volhynia, Nowogrodek and Wilno, excepting the city and district of Wilno, where only Poles were elected. This bloc obtained its greatest representation from the eastern provinces. This bloc is not really a bloc. With the Radical Ruthenian Party it totals seventy-one non-Polish Deputies and twenty-two Senators. However, representing many nationalities and interests, it will seldom, if ever, vote as a unit.

It is expected that to the votes of the Polish Socialist Party and the National Labor Party will be added the votes of the Radical Peasant Party and the Polish Peasant Party of the Left on all questions affecting the peasants, such as land reform, agrarian laws and rural taxation.

The Jewish National List (East Galician Zionists) was successful only in Eastern Galicia.

Practically no election violence was reported, though participation in the elections was a little hampered in Eastern Galicia by the terror organized from across the border and by Ukrainian emigrés. Not even in former Prussian Poland did the Germans elect any considerable number of deputies. No Lithuanian was elected, even in the Wilno region, neither was any Russian in former Russian Poland.

Occupational representation in the National Assembly ranges through every business, profession and calling: Estate proprietors, farmers of large and small freeholds, manufacturers, skilled workmen, Catholic priests, rabbis, judges, lawyers, veterinary surgeons, bankers, engineers, professors, school teachers, editors and army officers, though most of the occupations are agricultural, journalistic and pedagogical.

BALTIC STATES

At the Baltic Disarmament Conference, which opened at Moscow on Dec. 2, when Maxim Litvinov proposed a reduction of the Russian Red army to 200,000 men, on condition that the Baltic States reduced their armies in proportion, the Estonian delegate replied: "Political disarmament is also necessary," referring to a cessation of Communist propaganda, about which Estonians and Latvians have been worried. Then the Finnish delegate put the pith of the situation in the statement: That in view of the inequality in size of Russia and her neighbors, the scheme of proportionate disarmament pressed the more heavily on the latter, as it was easier to defend small countries with 200,000 men against a possible million than with 20,000 against 100,000—and therefore some scheme of a joint arbitration board to settle disputes was necessary. He also desired discussion of the question of naval disarmament at the conference, a subject which Litvinov had declared taboo. A Lithuanian arose with a reminder that Lithuania had shown in practice her desire for peace—clearly alluding to the League of Nations' arbitration over the Vilna question—and added that she was anxious to co-operate in any disarmament scheme. The latter sentiment was seconded by the Latvian delegate. Prince Radziwill insisted on Poland's desire for peace in a diplomatic speech in which he incorporated a graceful compliment to his Lithuanian colleague; he added certain declarations for Rumania. Rumania had declined to attend the conference because of Moscow's refusal to recognize Rumania's seizure of Bessarabia. The modus operandi adopted was a compromise between the visiting delegates' desire to work in committees and Litvinov's desire to have everything brought out in plenary sessions for purposes of publicity abroad.

LATVIA

J. Chapste, former President of the Latvian Constituent Assembly, was elected President of the Latvian Republic, Nov. 14, by 96 votes out of the 98 present in the newly elected Latvian Parliament, which succeeds the Constituent Assembly. Six Deputies abstained from voting. Legally there are 100 Deputies in the Parliament, which, by the elections of Oct. 23, succeeded the old Constituent Assembly of 152 members, created soon after the country's establishment as an independent republic. The chief result of the Parliamentary elections so far is a strengthening of the Socialists, with a membership of thirty members of the Social Democratic

Labor Party and six Right Wing Socialist Deputies. As the non-Socialist groups are not expected to stand together the semi-reactionary Government faces strong opposition. In the Constituent Assembly the old Social Democratic Party had 58 of the 152 Deputies. A split over tactics following the entry of several Socialists into the Cabinet cut this number down to thirty-five, the other twenty-three aligning themselves with the Right Wing group. The Communist agitation promoted from Moscow helped to divide the ranks of the Latvian workers, giving the Government grounds for drastic suppression. The Social Democratic Labor Party, which is affiliated with the Vienna International, has surprised both friends and foes with its show of strength.

The Agrarians form the second strongest body in the Parliament, the Peasants' League having seventeen Deputies, the Lettgallian Peasants' Party five, the Lettgallian Small Landowners four and the Young Landowners two. The rest of the Deputies are divided among eleven parties, such as the Democratic Centrists with six Deputies, the German Balts five, the Jews five, the Russians three, the Christian Nationalists four and the Non-Partisan Nationalist Centrists three.

As the arrest of the principal Communist leaders prevented the Communists from active participation in the campaign they advocated abstention. Only the Peasants' League, of all the parties supporting the Government coalition, retained its proportionate strength, largely on account of the votes of the beneficiaries of the new Agrarian law.

Latvia, like Estonia, proposes to increase the small-freeholder vote against Socialism and Communism by expropriating and subdividing all estates held by descendants of the early German invaders of Baltic territory, besides many other estates held by reactionaries. Allotments have been made mostly to ex-soldiers and other workers, the State usually aiding the new owners, or renters, in the acquisition of their farms by means of substantial long-term credits. Legislation dealing with compensation for the expropriations remains to be completed in both these republics.

The new American Minister to the Baltic States, Mr. Coleman, arrived in Riga on Nov. 8. Retiring Minister Yong sailed thence for the United States the following day.

LITHUANIA

Elections to the new Diet, as completed Nov. 9, seated 38 Christian Democrats, 19 National Socialists and members of the Peasants' League, 11 Social Democrats, 5 Communists, 3 Jews and 2 Poles, making all together 78 national representatives. On Nov. 20 it was reported from Kovno that the Electoral Commission, in alleged violation of the law, had annulled twelve of these mandates, thus depriving the national minorities almost entirely of legislative representation. Representatives of the Polish and Jewish minorities decided to take no part in the labors of the new Diet until there is reparation of this injustice inflicted on so considerable a part of the population of the young republic. This resolution

was greeted with enthusiasm by all the other minorities wronged by the Electoral Commission's decision. They made vehement protests and their enthusiasm was shared even in certain Lithuanian circles.

Lithuania's plan for increasing the small-free holders' vote against Red radicalism differs from that of Estonia and Latvia. Having, by the Agrarian law of Feb. 15, 1922, declared all holdings of over 80 hectares subject to expropriation, military colonization is proceeding in Lithuania at the expense of former landowners. Of the area of estates ranging from 300 to 800 hectares, 15 per cent. is appropriated without compensation. When an estate exceeds 800 hectares, 30 per cent. of its area is likewise appropriated. The State grants long-term credits to facilitate acquisition of farms in the expropriated tracts.

The Polish occupation authorities in Vilna, on Nov. 14, turned out the Orthodox Archbishop Eleutherius, confined him in a cloister, and deprived him of both archepiscopal and priestly dignity. The cause of this action was that the Archbishop protested to the Polish Administration against uniting the Orthodox Church in Lithuania with that in Poland.

RUSSIA

The Congress of the Third International, which opened with an impressive military review in the accompanying quinquennial celebration of the Bolshevik revolution, Nov. 5, in "Imperial Petrograd," and Nov. 7 in Moscow continued its career of oratory and pageantry through the current period. Accompanying events in the ancient Muscovite metropolis were the Russo-Baltic Disarmament Conference, preparations for participation at Lausanne, and opening the electoral campaign for the All-Russian Congress in December. The dramatic return of Premier Nikolai Lenin, after an interruption of eleven months in his public appearances, was the local sensation in these connections. The crescendo of enthusiasm with which he was greeted, both officially and unofficially, proclaimed to the world, not only that all the rumors of his insanity, paralysis and death had been false, but also that his régime was at the height of its power, in spite of the reversal of its professed principles from communism to State capitalism.

The change in national title from the "Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic" to the "Allied Soviet Republics" took place the first week in November, when the All-Russian Soviet Executive adopted a resolution, introduced by the Ukrainian Soviet Government, providing for a "centralized organization of the Allied Soviet Republic," doing away with the illusion of "independence" and "autonomy," with which the various "federated" republics had been labeled. This change necessitated new supplementary treaties between Soviet Russia, Soviet Ukraine, Soviet White Russia, the Transcaucasian Republics, and the late Far Eastern Republic. The voluntary decision of the Far Eastern Republic of Siberia centralized at Chita, its capital city, to abolish itself, Nov. 17, and join the Russian Soviet of Moscow, was a consequence of the

latter's new organization. On the same day the Chita Assembly selected fifteen delegates to the All-Russian "Red Congress," the elections to which were scheduled for December. Thus such diplomatic negotiations as were pending between Chita and Japan will have to be resumed, if at all, between Japan and the new "Central Russian Government" controlled from Moscow.*

This new Moscow Government alone will deal with all matters relating to foreign affairs, the army and navy, economic life and finances of all the Soviet units that had comprised, in the capacity of "independent" or "autonomous" States, the Soviet Russian "Federation." The "Central Executive Committee," to which a limited number of representatives of the various "ex-independent" States are admitted, acts as the "Supreme Government Executive Organ." The former "autonomous and independent federated republics" are permitted "autonomous" or "independent" administration merely of their "national cultural needs"—education and social welfare.

When, therefore, the recuperated Premier, on Nov. 13, addressed the delegates to the Communist Third International in the storied throne-room of the Kremlin, from the dais where imperial majesty had sat in glittering pomp, Nikolai Lenin stood de facto, a Czar of Czars. In a business-like suit of gray, fumbling at papers on a lecturer's desk before him, lacking the eloquence and magnetism attributed to Leon Trotsky, the persuasiveness said to be Radek's and Zinoviev's grim enthusiasm, Premier Lenin did not even deign, like Western demagogues, to flatter his audience or appeal to their preferences or emotions. Yet, by dint of dominant will and brains, he spoke with an authority beyond that of the greatest Czar, as lord and master of strong and reunited, if not regenerated, Russia, from the Gulf of Finland to the Pacific Ocean.

He explained to the delegates why Russia had abandoned its revolutionary system, had rejected Communist principles and reverted to capitalistic ideas—to what he called State capitalism. He said that the Government had started transformation too fast, without the backing of sufficient force, and had become like an army that had got too far in advance of its base. In order to retain power the Communist majority had to satisfy the peasants and small bourgeoisie that comprise the vast numerical majority of the country and were protesting against the régime's system. Therefore, small industry and commerce were allowed to be privately created, though heavy industry was still backward. For this money was needed, at least 100,000,000 gold rubles. "We have only 20,000,000 available." To maintain the success of the Red revolution, the proletariat class must retain power by remaining master of the capitalism that is given ad-

*A note was handed to Mr. Obata, the Japanese Minister at Peking, by M. Joffe, the Russian Envoy, on Nov. 16, offering important commercial concessions to Japan in settlement of the Nikolaevsk massacre, provided Japan withdraws her armed forces from Sakhalin Island, which is being held as security until satisfaction for the massacre is received.

mittance. The land of Russia still belongs to the State, and the basic industries remain in the State's hands. Where mixed companies are formed, "half State and half foreign or native capitalists, the State retains control of them and after using them to acquire commercial knowledge, can dissolve them at will. Thus there is no danger in this close association with the capitalist enemy." Meanwhile, rigid economy is the most urgent need, "even in such branches as education, which we are anxious to develop—from political understanding down to the simple knowledge of how to read and write. * * * Through education we can force our expansion and * * * extend our theories * * * to capitalist countries, that we may show their people what a proletariat revolution really means."*

On Nov. 20, Premier Lenin made his first public appearance before a mass audience since his speech eleven months before at the Congress of the All-Russian Soviet. Repeating substantially his speech of Nov. 13 in more popular form, in the Moscow Grand Opera House, where he had spoken eleven months before, he opened the electoral campaign for the All-Russian Congress. The ovation he received was irrepressible. Several times he tried in vain to begin, but neither the Chairman's bell nor the warning gestures of the Commissars at the centre table could stay the joyful, tumultuous applause.

The Disarmament Conference between Russia and the Border States was opened in Moscow, Dec. 2, with a surprise proposal by Chairman Maxim Litvinov of the Russian delegation, (1) to reduce the Russian army to 200,000 men in the next eighteen months, provided the border States agreed to proportionate reductions; (2) to limit strictly military budgets to a certain sum per soldier; (3) to establish a zone of neutralization on the frontiers between Russia and her neighbors—like that already decided in the recent agreement with Finland—to prevent a recurrence of frontier conflicts that are so grave a menace to peace. Litvinov added that the Russian Government regretted being unable to make proposals for naval limitations, but that the Russian fleet "is already reduced to a quarter of its 1917 strength."

An Estonian delegate spoke first in reply, welcoming the Russian suggestion, but added: "Political disarmament is also necessary," referring either to some agreement for arbitration, to which subsequent speakers adverted, or to a cessation of Communist propaganda over which the Estonians and Latvians have been rather worried.

A Lithuanian followed with a reminder that Lithuania had shown in practice her desire for peace—clearly alluding to the League of Nations' arbitration over the Vilna question—and added that she was anxious to co-operate in any scheme of disarmament.

Next, a Finn made two important points: (1) That in view of the inequality of the size of Russia and her neighbors, the scheme of proportionate disarmament pressed more heavily on

the latter than on the former, as it was easier to defend small countries with 200,000 men against a possible million than with 20,000 against 200,000; therefore, some scheme of a joint arbitration board to settle disputes was necessary; (2) that Finland was extremely anxious that the question of naval disarmament should also be discussed at the conference.

A Latvian delegate emphasized Latvia's willingness to join any scheme of general reduction.

Prince Radzivil, chief of the Polish delegation, spoke diplomatically for his country, and insisted on Poland's desire for peace in general and with Russia in particular. He added that he was also authorized to make certain declarations on behalf of Rumania, which country had declined to attend the conference on account of Russia's refusal to recognize Rumania's seizure of Bessarabia.

The rest of the session was devoted to arranging a *modus operandi*, which was a compromise between Litvinov's desire to confer in open plenary sessions for purposes of publicity and the visiting delegates' desire to work in committees. A chief committee of the heads of delegations met and formed a program for various sub-committees, the results of whose work would be communicated in open plenary sessions at suitable intervals.

By Dec. 8, practically all the original clauses of the proposed treaty were settled and good progress was made toward the additional Russian clause for immediate reduction of military forces and expenses. The only point that remained unsettled in the original treaty was the phrase, "With the exception of territorial questions," regarding international differences to be settled by arbitration. The Poles made this exception with evident reference to Vilna and East Galicia. The Russians objected, but were willing to leave East Galicia to the future. However, the Lithuanians declared that they did not agree to the phrase. It was finally decided to refer to the Kovno Government for instructions. All the other points were settled to the general satisfaction and passed.

With regard to the additional Russian clause for immediate disarmament a commission was formed to determine four points:

- 1—Reduction of forces.
- 2—Reduction of military budgets.
- 3—Neutralization of frontier zones as already determined by the Russo-Finn treaty.
- 4—Naval reductions.

A striking change of the official attitude in Moscow was considered one of the most satisfactory features of the situation. The Russians admitted that Poland, in the difficulty of her position between Russia and Germany, could not readily accept the sweeping disarmament program.

The famine situation augurs ill for the coming Winter. David A. Brown, a special American Commissioner who recently returned from an extended tour in Russia, declared that the Russians now face the worst phase of famine conditions that they have yet experienced, as they have no resources left to draw upon. Colonel

*The full text of Lenin's speech is given on Page 559.

William Haskell, head of the American Relief Administration, admitted before his departure for the United States (Nov. 29), that there will be great distress in many districts until the next Spring harvest. The Soviet Government had submitted an amazing request that the United States feed 3,000,000 people, and Great Britain 1,000,000 in the famine areas and allow the Soviet Government to export grain to pay for much-needed imports. The Soviet authorities were facilitating famine work by the Near East relief organization in Georgia and Armenia. Before Colonel Haskell left Russia he received a personal message of appreciation for the American relief work in Russia from Premier Lenin himself.

Plans for creating a new Trade Ministry were being formulated at the end of November. The prospect for a renewal of the trade negotiations with the British Urquhart Syndicate was favorable. Russian banks were extending their activities abroad through European and American banking houses.

Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, the newly appointed German Ambassador to Russia, arrived in Moscow on Nov. 3; he received a cordial reception by the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs.

The "Supreme Council of Russian Monarchists" completed a five days' secret session in Paris on Nov. 22, in the course of which Grand Duke Nicholas, former Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Army, was elected successor to the throne of the late Czar.

SIBERIA

The Far Eastern Republic, with headquarters at Chita, has been reincorporated as a part of Russia. On Nov. 19 M. Kalinin, President of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, issued a formal proclamation to the effect that the republic was annexed and now formed an integral part of the Soviet Republic. (See the article on Russia.)

PERSIA

Serious popular unrest in Persia has developed from such unsatisfactory conditions as an empty treasury, slender prospects of immediate replenishment, the feud of the Minister of War with the Mejliss, and the persistent activities of Bolshevik agitators. The conduct of public business appeared to be carried on in hand-to-mouth fashion, and all eyes were turned upon the American financial advisers in expectation of their performing miracles of betterment. The arrival of two Mullahs, ordered to leave Bagdad at the request of Sir Percy Cox, was made the occasion of a huge anti-British demonstration at the Mosque of Shah Abdul Azim near Teheran. The unpopular War Minister made peace with Parliament by promising to refrain from forcibly appropriating all taxes and revenues for the War Ministry, and in future to defer to the control of the Finance Minister. He also recalled the military Governors placed in office by him from

all posts except Tabriz, where the situation necessitated such governorship. In spite of these concessions to popular demands a new crisis broke out in the capital toward the beginning of November, when a crowd attempted to rush the Government buildings, but were driven off by the police. In Parliament feeling ran high between the Premier's supporters and the Democrats.

JAPAN

In conformity with the Washington agreement for the reduction of armaments the Japanese naval budget for the fiscal year ending March, 1924, will amount to 393,662,000 yen, as against 276,000,000 yen for the year ending March, 1923. Before this reduction was decided upon, the Japanese Foreign Office received assurances from the United States Government that the American naval budget would be framed in the spirit of the Washington conference. The conversations which brought about the understanding were held by Charles B. Warren, United States Ambassador at Tokio, and Foreign Minister Uchida. Ambassador Warren's letter confirming the conversations assured the Japanese Government that pending ratification of the naval treaty the American naval budget would be based upon the treaty, that no construction would be undertaken contrary to the terms of the treaty, and that the status quo of the American fortifications in the Pacific would be maintained.

Another step in the reduction of the Japanese Army, the first having been carried out in August, 1922, was taken on Nov. 25, when a start was made to retire 1,840 officers, 4,000 non-commissioned officers, 25,000 privates and 5,500 arsenal workers. The complete reduction decided upon involves 60,000 men, effecting an annual saving of 40,000,000 yen.

CHINA

A great stir was caused in Peking on Nov. 19 when the Minister of Finance, Lo Wen-kan, who had received his education in England, was arrested and charged with having privately signed an agreement with a Chinese-Italian bank regarding the postponement of the Austro-German loan agreed to before the war. It was alleged that he had violated the Constitution and accepted bribes in signing the agreement, which was also known as the Skoda contract. Lo Wen-kan's arrest was stated to be part of the militarist conspiracy to discredit and destroy the Cabinet. The same day Dr. Wang Chung-hui, who had been at the head of the Government since August as Acting Prime Minister, with Dr. Wellington Koo as his Foreign Minister, tendered his resignation, but offered to retain office until the Lo Wen-kan case had been cleared up. On Nov. 21 the House of Representatives decided by 375 votes to 28 to impeach Lo Wen-kan, and decreed that the Austrian Loan agreement was null and void, as it had not been submitted to Parliament. Subsequently Dr. Wang Chung-hui and Dr. Wellington Koo were impeached by the

House on the ground that they had participated in signing the agreement. On Nov. 30 a new Cabinet was formed with Wang Ta-hsieh as Acting Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, and Wang Cheng-ting as Foreign Minister.

Considerable alarm was created by the rise of a bandit army, consisting mainly of disbanded soldiers demanding reinstatement and estimated to number 30,000, which began to lay waste the Province of Honan and incidentally kidnap foreign missionaries, including several Americans. The immediate release of the captured missionaries was demanded on Nov. 16 by the American, British, Italian, French and Swedish diplomatic representatives in Peking, who acted under instructions from their Governments.

General Hsu Chung-chi's attempt to obtain possession of the salt revenues lying in banks at Amoy and Foochow, amounting to about \$200,000, led to the landing of a British naval guard at Foochow on Nov. 16, following a protest by the British, French and Japanese Consuls on the ground that the powers' rights under the Reorganization loan agreement were involved. General Hsu Chung-chi, who is supporting Sun Yat-sen, captured Foochow in October from Lio Hau-chi, the Tuchun (Military Governor).

The agreement between Japan and China concerning Shantung was signed on Dec. 1. The transfer of all Japanese interests in the Province was fixed for Dec. 5, when all the Japanese troops were to be evacuated. The Shantung Railway, however, is not to be handed over till Jan. 1, 1923. Owing to the Chinese Government not being ready to take over the territory by Dec. 5, a postponement of five days was arranged. Meanwhile the bandits with whom Shantung Province is infested demanded that when the Japanese departed they should be given possession of Tsing-tao, threatening to kidnap all responsible Chinese officials and burn or pillage the shops. Many of the merchants in consequence closed their shops, while a large number of civilians left the city.

The terminal of the Chinese Eastern Railway, which was reported from Vladivostok on Nov. 15, had been closed so that the control should be in the hands of the Moscow Government.

Hsuen Tuang, the 17-year-old ex-Emperor, was married to Princess Kuo Chin-si, the daughter of a Manchu nobleman, in Peking on Dec. 1. The ceremony was one of great magnificence.

CUBA

Following the Cuban elections, the woman suffrage advocates have been urging President Zayas to recommend to the new Congress a constitutional amendment which would allow women to vote. All that is needed is the elimination of the word "male" in the qualifications enumerated.

The Congress has agreed to consider limitation of immigration from China, Jamaica and Haiti, reformation of the judiciary and the establishment of a Federal Reserve bank, all of which have been favored by General E. H. Crowder.

The Isle of Pines treaty was favorably reported to the United States Senate on Dec. 6 at the request of Secretary Hughes, after eighteen years. It relinquishes any claim of the United States to the island, which was not specifically mentioned in the treaty with Spain.

W. P. G. Harding, former Governor of the Federal Reserve Board, completed his financial advisory mission, and recommended the establishment in Cuba of a bank of emission and a Federal Reserve system. He left Havana for the United States on Dec. 8.

MEXICO

President Obregon caused to be read in the Chamber of Deputies on Nov. 17 notes exchanged between George T. Summerlin, American Chargé d'Affaires, and Alberto Pani, Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs, relative to pending legislation regulating Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution, with especial reference to the ownership of oil wells.

This correspondence, on motion of Deputy Morones, was telegraphed to all the Central and South American countries, with notice that Mexico had declined to accept suggestions from Washington in legislative matters. In Washington it was intimated that high Mexican officials had intimated to Summerlin that suggestions by the United States would aid in forming an acceptable measure. Secretary Hughes said the United States had not the slightest desire to interfere in Mexico's internal affairs or disregard Mexico's sovereignty. Secretary Pani declared himself satisfied with this apology and the incident was considered closed.

The principal objection of American oil interests to the proposed legislation is that it would enable Mexico to impose excessive taxes on foreign operators, which, if not paid, would automatically entail forfeiture of the concession. Another bill, dealing entirely with petroleum, was introduced in the Chamber on Nov. 28.

Publication of a letter from John J. Bushnell, American Commercial Attaché, to Attorney General Daugherty, saying that the Mexican people are not behind Obregon, and that a Red wave is spreading over Mexico, aroused resentment in Mexico which ended in Mr. Bushnell asking to be recalled. In opposition to the Bolsheviks a Fascist movement has been formed, originating at Jalapa in Vera Cruz, and the Labor Party is preparing to fight it. Rudolfo Cerdan, formerly a Deputy, heads the movement of the Fascists. The group in Mexico City on Nov. 24 published its program, denying that it was reactionary or a defender of created interests that have no relation to justice.

The Mexican War Department on Nov. 12 announced that the country was more nearly at peace than for many years. The few opponents of the Government left were bandits rather than rebels. General Juan Carrasco, leader of the rebels on the west coast, was killed in battle in Durango on Nov. 9. General Candido Aguilar, son-in-law of Carranza, is reported to have fled to Cuba. General Rosalio Hernandez has surrendered, received amnesty and retired to private

life. Colonel Regino Gonzales, second in command to Carrasco, was executed on Nov. 19, and Mario Ferrer was killed in battle in Oaxaca.

A vigorous protest was received in Washington on Nov. 15 against the killing of Mexicans in the border States, where the shooting of Mexicans in unpoliced districts had become so common as to pass almost unnoticed. A Mexican named Zarate was lynched at Weslaco, Texas, on Nov. 11 after the Mexican Consul at Hidalgo had asked the authorities to see that no harm came to him. Señor Tellez, Mexican Chargé d'Affaires in Washington, said that between fifty and sixty Mexicans had met violent deaths in the United States last year.

A financial flurry was caused by the failure of the Banque Française de Mexique to open its doors on Nov. 15, owing to heavy runs and large loans by its Tampico branch. The Banque Française is owned principally in Paris. It originally had a capital of 10,000,000 francs, with nearly ten thousand depositors, and more than 15,000,000 pesos on deposit. Several minor suspensions followed, but there was no panic.

The suits of the Oliver Trading Company to recover \$1,164,348 from the Government of Mexico and the national railways were transferred on Nov. 10 from the jurisdiction of the New York courts to the Federal courts.

A commission of sixteen Americans, appointed at the recent convention of the Southern Commercial Congress to promote better trade relations between Mexico and the United States, arrived in Mexico on Nov. 27. It was headed by Dr. Clarence J. Owens, President of the congress, and expected to tour Mexico for several weeks.

CENTRAL AMERICA

Secretary Hughes on Dec. 4 welcomed the delegates of Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Salvador to the Central American conference held in Washington on the invitation of the United States. He assured them that they would find here a spirit of co-operation. Alberto Ucles of Honduras made a final plea for the unification and federation of the Central American Republics. Addresses in reply were delivered by Señor Francisco Sanchez Latour, for Guatemala; Señor Francisco Martinez Suarez, for Salvador; Señor Emiliano Chamorro, for Nicaragua, and Señor José A. Corondo, for Costa Rica.

Honduras on Nov. 15 notified the League of Nations of its intention to withdraw from the League.

Salvador is preparing for her Presidential election, the National Democrats naming as their candidate Dr. Alfonso Quinones and the Constitutionalists Dr. Miguel Tomas Molina.

Costa Rica's Presidency was tendered by the National Congress to Ricardo Jimenez in Washington on Nov. 30, but he declined to accept it.

COLOMBIA

A commercial arbitration agreement with the Chamber of Commerce of the United States has been signed in Washington by the Vice President

of the Chamber of Commerce of Bogota, Señor Etcheverri. It provides for the insertion of a standard clause in all commercial contracts made between Colombian and American merchants, stipulating for the arbitration of any differences arising from the fulfillment of their agreements. The parties to it are free to select their own arbitrators, and there is no other compulsion to respect the awards of the arbitration body other than the moral force that the Chamber of Commerce of one or the other country may be able to exert upon the individuals or firms involved. Up to the present, eight South American countries have entered into similar agreements with the American Chamber of Commerce, to wit: Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Panama, Paraguay, Uruguay and Venezuela.

In connection with the loan for \$80,000,000 being negotiated with American bankers and the \$20,000,000 contracted for by the department of Antioquia, the Secretary of the Treasury has engaged the services of an American financial expert to be in charge of the reorganization of the public treasury, and to a certain extent to be in control of the expenditures of the proceeds of the loan.

A proclamation of the Executive established as Peace Day the 21st of November, in commemoration of the pact signed twenty years ago on board the American warship Wisconsin by the representatives of the Liberal and Conservative factions, putting an end to the civil war. The treaty was signed on behalf of the Liberals by General Benjamin Herrera, one of the defeated candidates in the last Presidential election. The Federal Government and those of the States have prepared a brilliant program of festivities.

The new representative of the Pope in Colombia, Mgr. Vicentini, has arrived in Bogota, where he is receiving the warmest welcome by the official and social circles of the capital.

Delivery has been made in Washington of the first instalment of \$5,000,000 on the sum of \$25,000,000 to be paid by the United States to Colombia in accordance with the treaty subscribed last year.

ECUADOR

The Government has answered in the negative the proposal made by Mr. Davis, a British subject, as representative of the Pacific Settlement Company for the purchase of the Galapagos Island. The Government states in its reply that the law forbids concessions of the character asked for by Mr. Davis. The British Government was behind the proposal, with the purpose of making an extensive exploitation of the guano deposits and to put in practice a colonization plan.

A new candidate to the Presidency in the person of the Minister in Chile, Señor Cesareo Carrera, has entered the coming contest. Dr. Baquerizo Moreno, the other candidate, is said to be backed by official influence. The former President, General Plaza, is considered as a probable participant in the Presidential election.

CHILE

On the last day in November the House of Representatives passed for the second time, by a majority of more than two-thirds, the protocol subscribed in Washington by the representatives of Peru and Chile for the arbitration of the unfulfilled clauses of the Ancon treaty at the hands of the President of the United States. The vote of the Lower House of the Chilean Congress meant the defeat of the Senate measure by which some reservations were introduced into the protocol as presented by President Alessandri, since the higher body is unable to muster the required two-thirds to make its vote valid over that of the House. After a three months' fight mainly concentrated in the Chilean Senate, the ratification of the compact subscribed to in Washington by the delegates of Chile and Peru on the 15th of July last, has been assured. The protocol provides for the arbitration of the United States to decide whether the plebiscite provided for in Clause 3 of the Treaty of Peace of 1883 should be carried out or not. In the first instance, the President of the United States will determine the conditions governing the plebiscite; in the second case, a new conference between Peru and Chile is provided for finding some other way of solving the impasse.

Doubts were expressed of late in reference to the willingness of Peru to accept the Chilean ratification as valid after the time provided for it has long expired; but recently the Peruvian Congress authorized the Executive to exchange the documents at Washington without more ado. In this also the influence of the United States is evident, as it was before when its representative in Chile declared in the name of the Washington Government that any reservation or clarification added to the original protocol would not be considered by the arbitrator.

The newspaper *El Mercurio* pays tribute to the political skill and pertinacious effort of the President, to whom in the main the victory is due. As soon as the delegates sent to Washington returned to Santiago, the President called them to posts in the Cabinet, making Señor Izquierdo the Premier, and Señor Aldunate Minister of Foreign Affairs. By this move he gave strength in Parliament to the forces upholding the foreign policy, obtaining at the same time a parliamentary advantage over his enemies by the fact that the new Chancellor is the head of the Conservative Party.

The program for the fifth Pan-American conference to be held at Santiago de Chile next March has been already drawn up, and contains among others, the following points for discussion: conventions on trade-marks, copyrights and codification of international law; study of measures destined to prevent the spread of infectious diseases; to improve the means for maritime, land and air communications; the Pan-American Railway; wireless service; standardization of custom house and shipping documents, navigation laws, postal regulations and measures making for uniformity and simplification for the issuance of passports. Co-operation in agricultural research with a view to prevent plant diseases and

the propagation of them to other lands; commercial arbitration; a common plan for the curriculum for all universities throughout the American continent, and the discussion of rights of foreign citizens in relations to the law of the land, will also be themes for consideration by the conference.

Among the most important items in the agenda are the Chilean proposal for the limitation of military expenses, and one for a discussion of the means tending to restrict the consumption of alcoholic beverages. The delegates will also take up the matter of a joint plan of action in case of injury to the rights of an American nation on the part of an outside power. The proposal of President Brum of Uruguay for the creation of a League of Nations of the New World appears to have been dropped by common consent.

It is expected that Secretaries Hughes and Hoover will be present at the inauguration of the conference in Santiago. The Ambassador of Chile in Washington and other diplomatic representatives will also take part in the work of the assembly.

With the earthquakes and tidal wave of Nov. 10 along the northern littoral of Chile, destroying nearly a thousand lives and millions in property from Coquimbo to Antofagasta, an indigenous theory for the prediction of natural phenomena of this character has been newly agitated. The first time it acquired notoriety was during the tragic days of the earthquake of August, 1906, when a Chilean official of the Weather Bureau proved to have predicted closely the event. The theory was primarily formulated by an English sea captain, retired, by the name of Cooper. In accordance with his hypothesis, the climatic and earth disturbances in our planet are caused by an outside influence, namely the radioactive or soelectric energy, combined with the more or less concentrated gravitational forces of the moon and the planets in conjunction with the sun. With calculations based on this theory, Captain Middleton of the Chilean Navy predicted disturbances of an atmospheric and perhaps seismic nature for Aug. 16, 1906. Other predictions have failed of late, but storm and rain predictions have been usually accurate.

The recent earthquake in Chile affected a zone of mining settlements, and some of the cities founded during the silver boom of fifty years ago, but now in almost hopeless decay. Near and around them are situated some of the great American mining enterprises, but so far no great damage has been reported in these properties.

The inland towns of Vallenar and Freirina were the larger sufferers in death toll. They are situated some 300 miles north of Valparaiso. In Coquimbo, Huasco and Antofagasta the tidal wave swept from fifty to 500 yards inland, destroying piers, merchandise and railway lines, and drowning a number of people. Here the distress was less felt than in the cities inland, where shelter, clothes, food and principally medicines were lacking.

Transports and warships were sent immediately to the points affected by the Chilean Government, carrying supplies and other necessities. The deaths are numbered as between 750 and

1,000, and the wounded as 1,500 persons, according to official estimates transmitted by the American Ambassador.

President Harding sent a message of sympathy to the Chilean Executive and tendered the offer of American help. The American Red Cross sent \$10,000 and the Government dispatched the cruisers Cleveland and Denver from Balboa with supplies for the stricken zones.

ARGENTINA

The new Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Le Breton, former Ambassador to Washington, has engaged for a year the services of an expert from the Department of Agriculture of the United States, with the purpose of reorganizing and perfecting the statistical section of this branch of the Administration. The Government aims to create a service of reliable information on the production of the land and live stock, in accordance with the methods established by the United States. Another expert from the International Institute of Agriculture of Rome, Italy, will co-operate with the American organizer, Mr. Estabrook.

A committee appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury is studying a plan for the opening of new territories to the stream of foreign settlers coming to Argentina in an increasing number every year. This immigration came before mainly from the southern section of Europe, Italy and Spain for the major part; but lately there is a growing influx of colonizers from Germany, Belgium and Slavic States, the latter mostly Jews. One of the most important points to be decided by the committee is an increase in the parcel of land allotted to each settler.

The Argentine flier Lieutenant Fels and the Chilean Captain Aracena were enthusiastically welcomed in Buenos Aires after their return from Rio de Janeiro, where they traveled in several "hops" of their machines.

BOLIVIA

President Saavedra has called for bids for the construction of the railway line recently approved by Congress to link Cochabamba and Santa Cruz, across the eastern branch of the Andes. The bids will be open in June, 1923. It is expected that this line will open to exploitation not only valuable oil lands, but enormous zones of flat land adapted to the production of rice and sugar. At one end the railroad will be in touch with the upper reaches of the Paraguay River over the Brazilian frontier, and at the other will connect with the Oruro line to the Pacific. Due to the mountainous topography of Bolivia railway con-

struction has been both difficult and expensive, costing an average of \$50,000 the kilometer, but it is expected that the better-adapted plains of Santa Cruz will reduce the cost of the new line considerably. At present Bolivia has no more than 900 miles of railways. It is expected that several American firms will compete for the building of the Santa Cruz line.

The Bolivian Minister in Washington, Señor Calderon, has resigned, and will leave his post before the end of December after a continuous service in this position extending from 1904.

BRAZIL

In reply to the Chilean proposal contained in the program of the coming Pan-American conference to meet at Santiago next March, for the limitation of land armament, the Government of

Brazil has addressed an invitation to Argentina and Chile for a preliminary meeting of the three South American powers with the object of formulating a definite program for the formal conference. This preparatory meeting will take place in Valparaiso in January, 1923.

The Brazilian Minister in Santiago states that the invitation to the Valparaiso meeting has been inspired by a desire to test the practicability of the Chilean disarmament proposal, so as to present it to the full body of the conference in Santiago or to abandon it in time, thus making room for business of a more practical nature.

It has been pointed out that the three countries forming what has been known as the A B C group have a joint military establishment far superior to that of all the rest of Latin America put together. Brazil has 50,000 men in its regular army, Argentina 40,000 and Chile about 30,000, with a potential conscription of half a million, 400,000 and 300,000 men respectively.

New pavilions have been opened at the exposition commemorating the centenary of Brazil's independence, and among them the American building recently inaugurated is attracting the largest number of visitors.



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ARTHUR
BERNARDES
The new President
of Brazil